ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

REPORT

OF

TOURS IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN PROVINCES

BY

J.D. BEGLAR

AND

A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.



VOLUME XIII

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CUNNINGHAM REPORT

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OF

TOURS IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN PROVINCES

IN

1874-75 AND 1875-76.

BY

J. D. BEGLAR,

ASSISTANT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY,

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

VOLUME XIII.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." — LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." — JAMES PRINSEP.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE two tours which Mr. Beglar has described in the present volume deal chiefly with the little known and unexplored places of the South-Eastern Provinces lying between Chhattisgarh and Katak. But there are also some interesting notices of places in Rewa, and the Central Provinces on the west, and in Orissa on the east. Some of these were previously quite unknown, such as Chandrehi on the Son River in Rewa, Turturia in the Central Provinces, and Ranipur-Jural in the State of Karund. At the last-named place there is a very fine example of the Indian Hypæthral Temple, of which only a few specimens now exist. This site is otherwise interesting, as it possesses many other temples of various periods.

The most ancient of the places visited by Mr. Beglar are the famous sites of Khandagiri, Udayagiri, and Dhauli, with their well-known rock edicts of Asoka. The short inscriptions in the caves of the Ramgarh Hill in Sirguja are only a little later. The numerous caves at Mara are entirely without inscriptions, but they are interesting from their extent, as well as from their position in the heart of a very wild country.

Of a much later date are the fine Brahmanical temples of Chandrehi and Turturia, of which some views are given in the accompanying plates. When these temples were built, the arts of architecture and sculpture in the Central Provinces must have been quite as flourishing as in any other part of India. The temples at Markandi on the Wen-Ganga River, and of Boram Deo in the Kawarda State of Chattisgarh, also bear witness to the same fact. I conclude therefore that the whole of this part of the country must then have belonged to the powerful Kulachuri Rajas of Chedi, and not to the aboriginal Gonds, whose power was confined to the hills.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

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A. CUNNINGHAM.

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PLATES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF TOURS IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN PROVINCES, 1874-75 & 1875-76.

THE first season's tour began at Bharhut, and extended down to Ganjám, passing through the Rewa territory, the States of Sirguja, Udayapur, Ráyagarh, Sonpur Bod, and the districts of Sambhalpur, Ganjám, Khurdá, and Katak. Regarding the work at Bharhut and its vicinity, where I had the honour of assisting General Cunningham, full information will doubtless be found in his forthcoming work, and I need only notice such remains of archæological interest as I saw after having parted company from him at Bharhut.

1.—AKAHA.

A short distance from Bharhut, at the village of Akaha, are a few late Buddhist fragments: one has a longish inscription beginning with the usual "Yedharmma" and ending with "Mahá Sarmana," followed by "*Paramopásaka Mahánanda Náyaka ch* * * * * * पूप्प गंमरू नपभावा प्रेति । मेगल दाम The figure is four-armed, and is seated cross-legged, with two hands at the chest. On its two sides are two similar but smaller figures. Buddha is seated in the head-dress of the principal figure, which is 18 inches high. A female figure also, with Buddha on the head-dress, stands close to the above sculpture, and some nondescript fragments.

2.—MÂDHOGARH, RÂMPUR, BAIJNÂTH.

On the road to Rewa from Satna, at Mâdhogarh, are some sculptured figures over the doorway of the fort. There are also numerous temples on the river banks, but though modern, the figures are ancient.

At Râmpur is a temple and some statues, but of no antiquity.

At Baijnâth is an old brick temple facing east; the entrance is in the usual style of true ancient architecture, *viz.*, with a tall painted opening formed of successively overlapping courses of bricks; the entrance is divided, as usual, into a rectangular doorway below and a rectangle surmounted by a triangular opening above; the former leading into the sanctum, the latter into a chamber over the sanctum; the bricks are 18 inches long. The temple is quite deserted; it stands between Bela and Baijnâth.

3.—UMRI, KARWAHI, AMARPATAN.

At Umri there is a temple in a tank facing east, but not over two or three centuries old; it is built of stone, and is Saivic; there are several statues.

At Karwahi on the Tons river are several chhatris and temples of recent date. A couple of fragments of sculpture and some plain-dressed stone show that a temple of the Khajuráhá type once existed here. There is nothing else of any interest.

Amarpâtan is a village of some importance in the Rewa territory, on the road from Mirzapur to Jabalpur. The tanks here are large and numerous, and though now choked with weeds, still attest the former magnificence of the place. This, however, does not appear, from such fragments of sculpture as exist, to have extended beyond the twelfth century, for the sculpture is of inferior style and execution to the Khajuráhá ones by a long way. Several modern chhatris and a few temples exist here of no interest. Half a mile beyond Lálpur and close to Amarpâtan is a large tank with numerous pakká ghâts, and adorned with a temple and a dharamsálá on its banks. Each ghât is ornamented at its ends with two small round towers crowned by an open-domed pavilion; the domes being of the twisted ribbed pattern externally. There are sixteen of these towers, of which twelve are still entire; they cannot be very old.

4.—MAHORI, KARIÁ PÁTAN.

At Mahori, about 6 miles north-east of Amarpâtan and half a mile off the road, are some small chhatris, and in the

adjacent village of Kariá Pátan, 2 miles off, are several fragments of sculpture and Sati pillars, one of which bears date 1421 Samvat. The sculpture on this pillar represents a foot-soldier fighting with sword and shield against another foot-soldier similarly armed; there is sculptured only one woman, whence I infer the man had only one wife who became Sati. The inscription states that the man died in some battle at Sambhar in the cold weather.

5.—TÁLÁ, SÚKÚLGAON, MAKUNDPUR.

At Tálá, near the Bihar River, about 4 miles to the west of Makundpur, are a few modern temples and chhatris, some built of older, and, as evidenced by a sculptured fragment, Jaina temples.

At Súkúlgaon, close to Makundpur, once stood a Brahmanical temple, the ruins of which still exist under the shade of a tope of trees.

Just before reaching and to the west of Makundpur are some Muhammadan dargâhs or tombs. They are clearly built of Hindu materials, and it appears that the westernmost one was built on the site and with the materials of a Vaishnavic temple; the top sill of the stone doorway still exists entire, representing Vishnu four-armed on garuḍ in the centre compartment, while Brahma and Siva occupy the compartments at either end, the intermediate space being occupied by the figures of the Navagraha—four on the right and five to the left of the central compartment. I infer its date, from the mason's mark on a stone, to be as early as the ninth century; and this inference is confirmed by a tradition which ascribes these dargâhs to Mirá Tálau, well known from the Prithi Raj Raisá of Chand as the contemporary and friend of Álhá. Mirá Tálau, it is evident, would not have dared or been permitted in his period, when Muhammadan rule did not exist in this part of India, to pull down a Hindu temple for the building of Muhammadan shrines, but he may have been permitted to use up the ruins of a temple; the temple, therefore, which he used up to build the dargâhs must have already been in ruins in his time, the beginning of the twelfth century, and therefore it must date at least some two or three centuries earlier, or, say, the ninth century. Tradition ascribes the name of the Tálá village

to its establishment by Mirá Tálau, and the following sentence is a pun on its name, commemorating both its former splendour and present insignificance:—"Tálâthé, Talaiya hué." Tálá means a large tank, Talaiya a pond. Tala is said to have possessed a very large tank once, of which the remains in the shape of a marsh still exist. A tank in Makundpur is also ascribed to Mirá Tálau.

But by far the most important ancient remain in Makundpur is the large tank known as the "Rup Ságar;" it is ascribed to Rupmati Rani, wife of Raja Makund, or Muchkund, from whom the place derives its name, though he is denied to have been its founder; he is said, however, to have made it a place of importance. He lived, say the Brahmans, in the Treta Yuga, in the time of Rama; the bazar close to the tank is ascribed to another Rani of his, from whom it takes its name. The banks of the tank are adorned with temples and lined with stone ghâts, all now much out of repair; the principal one is a large temple built of older materials enshrining a huge lingam a yard high and half a yard in diameter; close by lie the ruins of a Vaishnavic temple which had furnished the materials; the top sill of its doorway with a figure of Vishnu on garud in the centre compartment, Brahma and Siva at the ends, and the Navagraha in the intermediate spaces, still lies entire; the present temple is built of brick, cut-stone, and rubble stone set in mortar; it is roofed internally by a series of intersecting octagons, which is not an unpleasing variation of the usual style of intersecting squares; the pillars have corbelled capitals of the Jaunpuri pattern.

On the north bank of the tank, which is not much under half a mile in length, is a great collection of sculpture, including figures of Siva in various forms, from the lingam to the eight-armed variety, Ganeça, Párváti, and a very fine and very boldly-sculptured slab representing the Ashta Saktis with their symbols, the bull, the duck, the lion, a bird (I could not recognise what bird), the garuda, the boar, the elephant, and a prostrate human figure; in the background are seen flying figures. This fine piece of sculpture is well worthy of preservation. There are also a few Vaishnavic figures, of which the Kalki incarnation of Vishnu is in good preservation. The style of sculpture is fully equal, if not superior, to the Khajuráhá ones, and, taken in connection with the tradition about the dargâh and the mason's mark, already noticed leads one to ascribe to the temple which these sculptures

adorned an antiquity superior to that of most of the remains in Khajuráhá, and to assign them at least to the ninth century of our era.[1]

6.—MAKUNDPUR.

In a village near Garhi, known also as Makundpur, are some sculptures representing naked men and women, apparently belonging to a temple or temples of the Khajuráhá type, but no mounds indicative of their site exist. Within the fort is a temple, in which are some sculptures of no particular interest; just outside, under a large tree, is a flat slab with a man and woman rudely sculptured, and an inscription below; this last is completely worn, and, strangely enough, is written *upside down*. The slab, but for the absence of the sun and moon on it, would be taken for a prostrate Sati pillar, and most probably is one, of which the upper fragment has been broken off.

The fort is a dilapidated affair, with plain, weak walls, loopholed and battlemented; there are no towers anywhere in the defences: it contains, besides the temple mentioned above, the ruins of numerous houses, some of which must have been zenana mehals; these last were once painted internally in colours, and in plan are of the usual pattern, *viz.*, rooms ranged round an inner court-yard: they are all recent, and of no interest; they are said to have been erected by the Dewan of the last Raja.

7.—BÁGAR.

On a tank named "Kapari Tál," near the village Bágar, about 4 miles from the Son, are some fragments of sculpture, chiefly Saivic, and a lingam; there is nothing of interest among them: a fair is held here every Tuesday.

Near the pass, through the low Kenjua range of hills, are numerous collections of Gond deities, sculptured in wood, clay, and stone; they are all of very rude execution, and ruder design; among them some have clearly been derived from the more common Saivic Brahmanical figures; the principal ones

[1] A rubbing of an inscription said to have been found in Makundpur in the Asiatic Society's collection is dated Samvat 772, which would place some of the ruins here to the very end of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth, confirming thus my inference; but I must observe in regard to this inscription that the date, from the forms of the characters, cannot refer to the Vikrama Samvat, but probably refers to the Chedi era. I could not find the inscription.

represented were men and women, standing sometimes singly, more often in pairs: there were no obscenities and no naked figures.

8.—DURGÂPUR.

On the south bank of the Son, close to and to the west of the junction of the Banâs, near the village of Durgâpur, is a small temple built of older materials, and the ruins of some others; the temple contains, among others, a fragment representing a man (or woman?) with one foot on a prostrate human figure; the inscription below is much worn and a portion is lost, the remainder reads 10 * 9 *Mahá grámoyatira* * * * * *laga* (*da?*) *utagapu*, whence the date is clearly some time within the eleventh century or end of the tenth century of our era,—a date which is not inconsistent with the character of the sculpture. On the opposite bank of the Banâs, the rocky hill rises sheer up from the edge of the river, leaving a narrow footway only between its toe and the water's edge; on the spurs and pinnacles in the middle third of this hill, and at its foot, are some uninteresting modern temples, and on the opposite bank of the Son is a hunting-seat of the Rewa Raja and a temple; the village which has grown up round the hunting-seat derives from it its name of Shikarganj.

9.—CHANDREHE.

A mile east, and a short way inland from the south bank of the Son, which here runs nearly east and west, is the small village of Chandrehe, of which the ancient name appears to have been Chandrabhuti from the inscription. This place, now consisting of only about half a dozen huts, was once of some importance, as testified by existing mounds and ruins, the principal of which is a temple still in good order, and the remains of a large palace. The temple stands on a raised terrace,—the terrace, however, appears to me to be a later addition, inasmuch as it is built of materials evidently taken from some other ruined structures; and I believe, if it could be removed, we would find the basement mouldings of the temple extend down a considerable distance, and greatly add to the dignity and ornateness of the temple. Supposing, then, this terrace removed, the temple would rise out from the ground level, or very near it, and look much taller than it does. The floor of the temple internally is much higher either than the ground level or the level of the terrace, and would

have necessitated the existence of a flight of steps in front, which would be no small addition to its dignity as it now stands. The temple, though elegant, is dwarfed, firstly, by the actual amount of height taken off by the platform, and still more in appearance by the height of the platform, which is not only greater in proportion to its horizontal dimensions than is pleasing, but is greater in proportion to the visible height of the temple on it than its proper subordination to the temple renders necessary; and, consequently, instead of enhancing, as it ought to have, if it formed part of the original design, it detracts not a little from the dignity of the chief object. On these grounds, then, independently of its being built of materials from other ruins, I do not hesitate to consider it an after-addition.

In plan the temple is unique; the sanctum is circular externally as well as internally, the external circle being *un*broken into projecting angles and recessed niches, as is usual in temples generally; nevertheless, though wanting in the alternations of height and shade peculiar to those temples, it has broader, though less pronounced, shadows, due to the curve of the sanctum; and the half tints thus introduced in broad masses is at least as pleasing, especially in sunlight, as the more violent, though infinitely varied, alternations in the generality of temples without sunlight; it is somewhat deficient in relief; it is indeed the only example of its kind I have either seen or heard of, and its beauty makes it deserving of study: in the absence of the bold, angular, radial projections which render temples of the Udipur and Mahoba type so exquisitely beautiful, from the existence, not merely of alternations of height and shadow as in the examples at Khajuráhá, but of *graduated tints of shadow* in the alternations, due to the varying angles at which light falls on the *radially*-ranged projections; the deepest shadows here are secured by chiselling out the lower portion of the tower above the basement mouldings into pilasters, with deep-sunk narrow intervals crowned by a bold and deep cornice and mouldings, and the upper portion of the tower is also formed into a number of facets separated similarly from each other by deep lines running continuously up to the crowning amalaka. In addition to this, the facets are elaborately sculptured in the style of the Jaina temple at Khajuráhá, and altogether the exterior presents an appearance in which there is not much fault to be found; the plain pilasters only need the boldly-executed statues of Khajuráhá to render this temple as rich

in sculptured beauty as they. The temple faces west, and is Saivic; it has a mandapa, a mahamandapa, an antarala and a sanctum—*vide* plan.[1] The date of this temple is unfortunately a little uncertain; there are numerous pilgrim records, one of which reads Dhwaj jogi, 700, and at first sight this ought to fix an inferior limit to the age of the temple, which clearly must have been built some time previous to the year 700 of some particular era. In addition to this, we have in the adjacent palace a long inscription dated Samvat 324, Phálguna Sudi 6; and hence it might appear that there can be no uncertainty regarding the age of the temple. But although the date 324 is distinctly mentioned in the long inscription as Samvat, the forms of the characters, both of the letters and of the figured date, are such that they cannot by any possibility be ascribed to that early period, nor are the characters which record the date 700 in the temple of such forms as even approach to those that we know from numerous examples to have been current in the eighth century of any of the well-known eras in common use in this part of India, so that we are forced to the conclusion that the dates refer to an era of which the initial point is unknown. As regards, indeed, the date 324, the forms of the characters are such as to lead to the probability of the supposition that the figure 1 in front of the 324 may have been left out by mistake; and indeed there is a mark at the foot of the letter (t) of Samvat which may be taken as 1, thus making the date 1324 of Samvat; and the forms of the letters are such as to render it almost certain that the real date cannot be very far from the corrected date assumed above, *viz.*, Samvat 1324. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, I adopt 1324 as the correct date of the building of the palace, and probably also of the temple; the other date, 700, in the temple itself does not, however, admit of any such correction. I can only allude to the same date of 700 recorded in the temple at Pali; thus, "Magara Dhwaj-jogi, 700;" and to conclude that this record and that one are by the same itinerant jogi in some undetermined era.[2] I have already, in my notice of the Pali temple, rejected the testimony of this date in fixing its age, and have assigned it, on architectural and other grounds, to the tenth century.

[1] See Plates I, II, III, and IV for illustrations of these Temples.

[2] The same date of this ubiquitous jogi has been found in eight different places, from the banks of the Ghaghra to the Ven-Ganga—I presume that it refers to the Chedi Samvat, which would fix the date at 949 A.D., in agreement with Mr. Beglar's age of the temple.—A. CUNNINGHAM.

Besides this jogi's record, there are other records also of visitors—one of a female Vajamani, one of the carpenter Ganapati, two of some one whose name I read somewhat doubtfully as Chandidhara and a longish one, written by some one who visited the temple for the benefit of his beloved; there are a few odd masons' marks also. Every one of the records is in characters that may be later, but cannot be earlier, than the fourteenth century Śamvat; and therefore there is every probability that I am right in correcting the date of the great inscription in the palace from Samvat 324 to Samvat 1324.

The palace which adjoins the temple is of much interest, as being one of the very few old buildings other than temples which yet exist; I call it a palace, but I think I will be more correct if I call it a monastery, for the inscriptions on the sides of its entrance mention no kings, but on the other hand record the names of various ascetics. The inscription to the right of the doorway opens with an invocation to Śiva; hence the builders and occupiers of this princely building must have been of the Saiva faith. I have, in discussing the age of the temple, already shown reasons for correcting the date from 324 to 1324 Śamvat. It is much to be regretted that the building is not in sufficiently good preservation to furnish accurate plans and drawings, to enable every detail of its construction and arrangement to be fully made out; in general terms, the building consisted of a central, open, paved court-yard, on all sides of which ran rows of pillars. All the sides do not, however, appear to have been similar, some having but one row of pillars and a row of pilasters forming a sort of verandah running the whole length, while others have two and even three rows of pillars, some running the whole length of its side, forming pillared halls rather than verandahs. Behind the lines of pillars on each side are rooms, many of them plain, some small, some large, but some also with elaborately sculptured entrances, and elegant, large, carefully-constructed roofs, with the architraves and the overlapping and intersecting courses of slabs ornamented with sculpture; one of the corner rooms in particular is especially remarkable for the size and elegance of its roof; underneath some, if not all, the rooms are vaults—if vaults they may be called—which have no true vaulted roofs; these are quite dark and are below the ground level outside. I explored all that were accessible not without many misgivings, the place being so overgrown with, and buried in, bamboo jangal as to render it extremely probable that snakes would be found in abundance, and one

was in fact found and killed in the ruins. I had the bamboos cut down to a great extent, paying the villagers not only for the labour of cutting them down, but also the owners for the value of the bamboos so cut down; but I have no doubt in a short time the bamboos will again bury the building, or such remains of it as a gigantic dried pipar tree growing in the court-yard which no one would either venture to, or allow to be, cut down, might spare in its fall; the tree was struck by lightning a few years ago, which also destroyed a portion of the building.

To return to the building. Externally it appears to have been nearly a square of more than 100 feet each way. On the side of the temple, a portico projects beyond the face of the building; this is supported on dwarf pillars, the dwarf pillars resting on benches with sloping back-rests, as in the window seats of temples, and was evidently meant as a place where people coming either for business or as visitors might sit down comfortably and discuss the "news of the day." One small entrance behind the portico with Pârvati sculptured over it gave access to the interior, opening first into a long passage leading to the verandah round the inner court-yard from which every room in the building is accessible, most of them opening directly into it; on another face of the square externally exist the ruins of an open verandah supported on tall round pillars which have fallen down long ago. Behind this external verandah was a large room which may reasonably be assumed to have been the reception-room; on the other sides there appear no traces either of doors or porticos or projections of any kind. The main building appears to have been two-storeyed; the projecting portico was not, however, two-storeyed, at least no remains of a second storey exist over it; the upper storey has for the most part tumbled down, but enough remained to enable me to obtain a section through both, showing a profile of the very elegant façade presented on each side to the spectator. From the inner court-yard externally the façade appears to have been not merely plain, but positively as ugly as a huge unbroken plain stone wall of the entire height of the lower storey could make it, except on the side which had the reception-room and pillared verandah in front, and the side where the great portico projected from the face of the building, and which was further ornamented by a narrow verandah running along a part of the face, supported by a row of plain square small pillars in front and pilasters abutting against the plain blank wall behind. The upper storey,

however, did not present a plain blank wall externally, for here the outer walls were pierced at frequent intervals by doors and windows, letting in plenty of light and air and removing it entirely from the class of native buildings which became the fashion not long after, where every care is taken to allow the inmates to see as little of the world outside as is possible. On the whole, this building is a very favourable specimen of Hindu civil or domestic architecture. The roofs are all flat; the largest room, which is over 16 feet square, is roofed by cutting off the corners to form an octagon which again supports a smaller square, and this square is slabbed over; the roofing slabs are often 12 feet long, more than 2 feet in width, and 10 inches deep; they are laid in two layers one across the other; the material is a fine close-grained sandstone of two colours, greyish and purplish; bricks appear to have been used in the roofs of the second storey in addition to stone, but very sparingly.

I saw no means of getting up from the lower to the upper storey, the portion carrying the staircase having most probably fallen down.[1] There are no traditions regarding the building beyond this, that it was built by a Sanyâsi, the correctness of which is borne out by the inscription. The inscription is on two slabs let into either side of the entrance behind the projecting portico. Close to and to the south of the building is a square baoli now dry; the sides have all bulged in considerably and part of one side has quite given way. Not far from the building is a square mound which appears once to have been walled round; it contains brickbats and rubble stone and a few dressed stones, and probably marks the site of another ruined temple.

Before proceeding to notice other places of note in this wild country, a few notes regarding the roads will be of interest. There are very few roads and almost all natural tracks unimproved by art. The Government of Rewa makes no new roads and improves none that exist, and it is well known that previous to the British conquest of India made roads were things nearly unknown in India. All roads that existed were tracks formed by the constant tread of the feet of the people of each village in communicating with neigh-

[1] Subsequent examples have proved beyond doubt that, strange as it may appear, the only access to the upper from the lower was by means of a wooden ladder inserted at a small opening in the floor of one of the rooms or verandahs of the upper floor,—so small that one could barely squeeze through it.

bouring villages and in carrying their requisitions to the local Governor or Chief, and by the hoofs of Banjâras cattle in their eternal migrations in quest of profit on their merchandise. No one who has noticed the inherent conservatism of men, especially of ignorant men, will need any proofs to show that such tracks, however circuitous within certain limits, once made, are seldom abandoned even when across a level plain with freedom of choice to adopt a better line, indeed, so great is this conservatism (or shall I call it laziness?) that officers of the Public Works and local road makers of the district officers seldom care to strike out the best line if an old track is to be found in existence. In hilly and wild districts the tracks never change; accordingly, a review of the various roads will certainly help us in finding out the sites of old cities and villages of importance.

The wild country bounded by the Jabalpur and East Indian Railway lines and the Narbada River on three sides is divided into two portions by the great Kaimûr Range. All communication, therefore, from north to south must cross this range, which runs in an uninterrupted line from near Bilhari to Rohtâsgarh; the passes in this range therefore constitute obligatory points some one of which every road must pass.

The important passes in the range beginning from the one used by the railway are Sunai Ghât, which is practicable for laden bullocks but no wheeled traffic. Next is the well-known Badanpur pass, originally very good; it has been greatly improved of late years. Through this pass runs a great old road from the north, which, bifurcating at Mahiyar, sends one branch towards Damoh and Bilhari and the other down through this pass. This road again bifurcates south of the Badanpur pass, sending one branch through Káritalai Bijerá-ghogarh to Tewar, the other through Barai and Kaoria to Chandiá, whence one branch goes *viá* Singhpur Rámgarh, Bichhiá Saheypur, south towards Kaker, the other *viá* Bandho-garh Páli, Sohágpur, Dhangaon, &c., towards Katak. At every one of the above-named places are remains of antiquity, proving that certainly from the tenth century, and probably from a much earlier period, all these routes have been in use (for notices of most of the above places *vide* my report for 1873-74). Karitalai indeed has yielded copper-plates of the fourth century A.D., and the antiquities on that line have been visited by General Cunningham, in whose forthcoming reports they will doubtless be noticed.

The Badanpur pass is also the point where the great old roads from the vicinity of Mirzapur and Allababad went down towards Tewar. These lines have been greatly improved by British authorities; the Mirzapur line runs past Lâlganj, Katra, Deohat, Katrághát, Laur, Mangowa, to Gurgi, where it meets the Allahabad line, which has come *viá* another, Laur and Ghar, from Gurgi; one branch ran on *viá* Makundpur, Tálá, Amarpátan, and Marhai to the Badanpur pass; the other branch will be noticed subsequently. At every one of the above-named places are ancient remains, some of which have been noticed in the report for 1873-74 and some in this report, *supra*. Of the remainder, Gurgi is by universal report said to contain innumerable numbers of sculptured stones, and in this respect to stand alone in the Raj of Rewa.[1] The Political Agent of Baghelkhand, Major Bannerman, I understood had undertaken to explore Gurgi, but I have heard nothing about the result. Lâlganj was visited by Buchanan, *vide* his work; the others yet remain to be visited.

10.—GOBRI AND KARAUNDI.

The next pass is the Manwas Ghât. I have no information regarding its character, but I feel certain that an interesting old road must have crossed the Kaimur range here. A very fair road runs from Barahut past Karwahi, on the Tons Gobri and Karaundi, to Nandan. Karaundi and Gobri have yielded two unimportant Sati inscriptions, one of Samvat 1100, but too illegible through wear to be deciphered; the other also of Samvat 114* the units figure being illegible. It mentions Sri Mahârâjadhirâja, Sri Virarâja Deva, and the name of the village as Garavaha Grama, which I take to be the ancient form of Gobri. There are a few pieces of cut stone at each place, proving the existence at one time of temples. For Karwahi *vide supra*. Barahut needs no mention; but although no road is shown in the maps as crossing the range at this ghât, it is remarkable that the northerly road from Bandhogarh and the great westerly road from Sirguja meet and cross the Son (this is from my enquiries, not from the maps) at Barouda, or, as it is pronounced, Baureda Ghât, within a few miles of the two adjacent passes, the Manwas and the Gurserai, through one of which it is certain the united roads must find exit

[1] Rubbings of a large manuscript on stone and of a copper-plate from Gurji exist in the Asiatic Society's collection. The stone is said to have been removed to the house of the Political Agent in Rewa many years ago.

northwards; the interesting old road from Barahut, going south-east, must therefore have crossed the range by either the Manwas or the Gurserai Ghâts. The Gurserai Ghât has been noticed in connection with the Manwas, and needs no further mention; neither does the next, the Pathra Ghât, of which I know nothing. The next is an important and an excellent ghât; it is called the Papra Ghât, or Ramnagar Ghât, but although an excellent ghât, I suspect no great old line of road went through it. A branch line of the great road from Mirzapur to Tewar appears to have started from it at Makundpur, going towards Bandhogarh; it is now, however, the most frequented road in the State of Rewa, connecting the tehsili of Manpur and the great arsenal of Bandhogarh, with Rewa, the capital.

The next seven ghats are of no special note, being all steep and giving exit to no roads of note; they are the Kosmaháni, the Marwáni, the Bánsá, the Belhat, the Jaliadhar, the Omli Ghât, and the Lohranta. The next ghât is easy and of importance; it is the well-known Gaddi Ghât, being the easiest one across the Kymore range within the Rewa territory, next to Papra Ghât. I have before observed that the great roads from Allahabad and Mirzapur meet at Mangowa Laur, where, coalescing, they go on past Rewa; but a branch also strikes off here southwards in continuation of the Allahabad road, and, crossing the range at Gaddi Ghât, goes south through Rampur, crossing the Son near Chandrehe, whence it goes on south to Majholi: here it divides into two—one branch going towards Chutia Nagpur, the other towards Sohagpur and Amarkantak. That these lines of road were in use from the earliest times is evidenced by the abundance of old ruins on them.

11.—BHAMARSEN.

The ruins at Chandrehe have been already noticed. There is said to be a very old stone building at Bhamarsen, "the stone doors (door frames?) of which are two yards long, and there is something engraved on the same; but this could not be read, as it is not plain." Bhamarsen is close to Chandrehe, on the north bank of the Son; but my inquiries while at Chandrehe regarding this place were not sufficiently encouraging to induce me to risk the loss of my baggage, which had just before been rescued from the quicksands at Dadari Ghât, from being lost beyond rescue in the still more notorious

quicksands near the junction of the Son and the Banas, where, only a fortnight previous to my arrival, an elephant had been lost; in fact, I was there too early in the season for safe fords and too late for ferry-boats. From all I could gather, the building appeared to be not very old, being ascribed to the Baghel dynasty.

12.—MAJHOLI.

There are some ruins at Majholi, on this road, before it divides into two; as the ruins appear to be those of temples of the tenth century, and as most of the stones have been already safely used up in the houses and huts of the present day, there is not much left for the antiquary to record beyond this slight notice of the place, which once must have been of some importance, judging from the ruins of at least a dozen and half temples at the north-western end, at the west end near a fine tank, and at the south end of the city. From Majholi the road divides into two; the one going south has not been examined by me; but I believe Deomath, Deogarh, and Janakpur possess remains of more or less interest; the other, going towards Chutia Nâgpur, has been travelled by me, and there are remains of much interest at Kakarsiba, and beyond it, on the southern branch at Marra, with its numberless caves, north of Bank Ghât; and beyond it, on the southern line, at Pali Baluda, Janjgir Seorinarayan. This southern branch appears, indeed, to have formed the principal pilgrim road from Prayaga and also from Benares to Ramessar, in ancient times. It is one of the great pilgrim routes even now; but owing to the improvements made by the British in the ghâts at Penora and Komo, on the route which goes close to Amarkantak, this route is not much used now by pilgrims to and from Prayaga. On the eastern route through Bisrâmpur, there are, I hear, numerous remains at Depadi (Dalton's Ethnol., page 222).

13.—BARDHI.

The next ghât of note is the fine easy one known as Khol Ghât; it does not, however, appear to have ever been traversed by any of the more important lines of communication. The road through it starts from near Gurgi, and, running eastwards, goes past Bardhi and Agori Khas on the Son, both places of interest archæologically; but I am sorry I had no opportunity of seeing the temples of Bardhi, situated

on a triangular island at the junction of the Son and the Gopat rivers; these temples enjoy more than a merely local reputation, and, from their position at the junction of the two largest rivers in the Rewa territory, promise to be of importance and interest.

14.—SAIPUR.

The next pass—not, indeed, across the Kaimur Range, which has now merged into the Vindhyas, but across the Vinchyas—is the Kutti Ghât; after this is the Kosda Ghât, both of local importance. Next come the two important ghâts on either side of Deogarh Hill, known as the Karar Ghât and the Silpi Ghât; the last is very important, being the one ghât *viá* which the great pilgrim road from Benares through Chunar goes to Katak and Ramessar; it comes *viá* Chunar through Saktisgarh, Rajgarh, across the Sonat Kurari, meeting the other road near Kusmawa, thence on to Baghaia, where it branches into two, the minor one going direct past the tirath at Poari and the caves of Kotar, Jarandha, and Banauli to Márá, the main one *viá* Saipur also through Kotar to Márá, and thence on through Sonhat, Mahtin, Pali, Baluda, Bachandgarh, Janjgir, to Seonarayan, every one of the places named containing remains of antiquity, and most of them already visited by me. The next ghâts in order are the two to the south of Shahganj and the Dhoba and Ekpowa Ghâts, the roads through the two last crossing the Son at Agori Khas, and these roads meet at Saipur and join on to the great road just noticed, and, united, go on towards Katak and Ramessar. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the road *viá* Silpi Ghât was a most important one, as indeed it is still; nor can there be a doubt that the town of Saipur was once a most important settlement, as is attested not merely by being at the junction of several roads, but by actual remains of antiquity said to exist there, though unfortunately not seen by me.

AGORI KHAS.

Agori Khas is also said to possess old temples, but beyond this I know nothing further regarding it; it stands at the junction of the Son and the Reur or Rehud Rivers. After the Khol Ghât the Kaimur Range no longer forms a ridge, but merges into the high tableland, the opposite slopes of which run down to the Son on one side and to the Ganges on the other. Near the foot of the northern slope close

to Mirzapur is the famous temple of Vindhyavâsini Devi, and from this circumstance I consider that this range is best entitled to the name of the Vindhyan range of hills. I have in a previous paper given a variation of the well-known legend which says that Vindhya lies prostrate with his head near Mirzapur and feet at Râjmahal and Chunar; this legend confers additional force to my supposition. I do not mean to ascribe the name of Vindhya to the range known as the Kaimur Range, but to the range which runs from Baroda up along the Narmmada river and along the west of the railway line from Allahabad to Jabalpur, through the Panna State and on along the Ganges past Mirzapur, Sahsarâm, to Râjmahal. The Kaimur is a smaller range, isolated from the main range all along except near the ends, but nevertheless forming part and parcel of the range; indeed, as the name Vindhya is expressly stated to be the name of "a family of mountains," "Kâlaparvata," it must include the Kaimur and probably the Kinjua range also. I am even inclined to restrict the name "Vindhya" to the eastern portion of the range indicated, excluding the portions which run along the Narmmada, which properly appear to be the Pâriyâtra mountains, for the Vishnu Purana makes the Chambal flow from the Pâriyâtra mountains; a passage of the Mahabhârat which has been supposed to support the view of the Vindhyas being to south of Narmmada River. Varna Parvan, 2317, says :—

"All these roads after passing Avantidesa and the Rikshâvat mountains go to Dakhshinapatha; there are the great Vindhya mountains, the Payoshni River, &c., &c.

Remembering *where* Raja Nala is speaking, and the circumstances under which he is speaking, it is clear that when he says "there are the great Vindhya mountains," he by no means means that these mountains are to the south; he is standing perfectly naked in a jangal at the moment, the treacherous bird has just flown away with his only garment, and unable to show himself before men through shame, he is pointing out to his wife the roads and landmarks thence visible. "These roads," he says, "go to Dakhshinapatha past Ujain and there" (*doubtless pointing with his hand to the distantly visible hills*) "are the Vindhya Hills." He then goes on to *point out* the road to Ajodhya and to Vidarbha, with the evident intention of giving his wife an idea of the road she should take, and the landmarks she should remember, in order to escape from the jangals and go to her father's house in Vidarbha, as is evident from her reply. This passage then

can by no means be construed into placing the Vindhyas to the south of Narmmada or of Ujain, though from the incorrect rendering given in the notes, Vishnu Puran, p. 145, Vol. II,[1] it would appear as though the Vindhyas were beyond Ujain and the Rikhsha mountains. Now let us remember where Raja Nala is at the time; he has just been ousted from his Raj and is wandering in the wilds not far from the present city of Narwar, the ancient Nalapura and Padmavati (Archæological Report, Vol. II). It is evident that from the vicinity of Narwar he cannot by any possibility see the mountains behind Ujain, and cannot possibly point to them, whence in his expression "this road goes past Ujain and the Rikhsha mountains," he points out the *road*, not the mountain; but when he refers to the Vindhyas, he *points them out*, "there are the great Vindhya mountains, the *Payoshni River*" as *actually visible objects*, and therefore the hills he pointed out could only have been the range in Bundelkhand which with endless windings goes through Panna on to Mirzapur. I suggest in passing that the Payoshni means the Pahoj River, which runs not very far from Narwar; in further confirmation of my views I may add that the Vayu and Kurma Purâns make the Payoshni flow from the Vindhyas, which the Pahaj actually does. In regard to the Rikhsha mountain being on the banks of the Narmmada, I quote further Ramayan, Griffith's Transl. Cant. XXVII, Vol. V, p. 84:—

> "Parjanya when his host of clouds
> About the king embattled crowds
> On Kikshavan's high mountain nursed
> In Narmmada he slakes his thirst;"

whence it is clear that the range beyond Ujain bordering the Narmmada are the Rikhsha mountains and not the Vindhyas.

It is not necessary now to discuss at great length all the various reasons which have led to the ascription of the name to the Mehkal and to the Satpura ranges. I admit fully that various old Hindu writers have assigned the names to various arms or divisions of the great group of mountain ranges in Middle India south of the Ganges and north of the Godavari, the Vayu Puran even giving the name to the Satpura range south of the Narmmada; but where authorities thus differ, the safest plan, I conceive, is to look to other sources for the settlement of the difficulty of these. The existence of the temple

[1] The rendering alluded to runs thus:—
"Yonder many successive roads lead to Dakshinapatha. There beyond Avanti and Rikshavat mountains are the great Vindhya mountains."

of Vindhyavâsini Debi at the foot of the range which runs past Chunar and the universal tradition or legend noticed above, point out unmistakeably that the range which runs through the Panna territory past Chunar to Rajmahal is the one best entitled to the name Vindhya.

It may be objected to this that a portion of this great Range is known as the Kowa Kol range and has been known in ancient times (*vide* my report for 1872-73) as the Kouwa Range. To this objection I would reply that the Vindhya range is specially characterised in the Maha Bhârata and the Purânas as Kula Pârvata, which may be rendered a family of mountains, and therefore the possession of special names by particular portions of it does not militate against the family name of the entire range being Vindhya. I would further to this add the positive evidence of Buddhist writings [Mahawanso Ch. XIX], where the King of Pataliputra in his progress from his capital to Tamluk or Tamalitta, passes through the Wingha forest. I have elsewhere (Report for 1872-73) indicated the routes from Tamluk to Patna and shown that the king must have passed through the forests west of Rajmahal and east of Patna. It is clear that if the forest was called the Vindhya forest (Winjha is the Pali form of Vindhya), the mountain range between the two places must also have been known as the Vindhya mountains. I now proceed to describe the objects of archæological interest in such of the places mentioned above as have not been already described and have been visited by me.

15.—KAKARSIHA.

About 25 miles east, on the road from Marhwas to Singhpur, and on the west of the banks of the small nala called the Bardia, is a small hillock; this hillock is literally covered with ruins of temples: there are traceable the ruins of some twelve temples, of which only one now stands in a dilapidated condition, the rest being mere heaps of cut stone. The temples are romantically situated on the commanding eminence—hillock it can scarcely be called—mentioned above, shaded by lofty trees, the country all round in the vicinity being flat and devoid of large trees. The temples were all of a small size, having sanctums of not more than 5 or 6 feet square internally, and, judging from the example still standing, they were probably about 15 feet high only; they appear to have been all built in the Barakar style,—a single cell with

an apology for a portico, or arddha mandapa, crowned by a tower roof of the Barakar shape, surmounted by the usual amalaka. Of the objects of worship, I found only one lingam 4 feet high. The temples were, I accordingly conclude, Saivic Brahmanical. There are no inscriptions to fix the age of these remains, and the temples being quite plain, it becomes very difficult to assign their age. I would not place them beyond the ninth century, nor yet later than the tenth. The temples appear to have been built of stone found on the eminence itself, which is rocky, and at the south foot of which large blocks yet lie piled in irregular steps. Touching the foot of the eminence, which appears once to have been surrounded by a weak low wall, is a tank, once large, now choked with weeds, known as Puraini Tal; the eminence is known as Dewal Kot. Worship and sacrifices are still offered here, and the grove is supposed to be haunted; but there are no traditions whatever as to their origin. The adjacent village is flourishing, and for this part of the country, where a dozen huts constitute a village, it is large, but is said to have been settled only within the last fifty years.

Going east from Kakarsiha, at a distance of about 15 miles, is the village of Gurwani, between which and Senua, at the foot of the Senua Ghât, there is not a single village nor any cultivation. About half-way between Gurwani and Senua Ghât to the right of the track, a bare low rock crops up, and near the foot of this rock (Chatan) is shown a small smooth hole, the lower part buried in earth, the upper worn smooth by water into the shape of a Gothic arch; the hole is too small for any animal larger than a rabbit or porcupine, but is said to have once been large enough to admit dogs. It is said that on one occasion a hare, pursued by a dog, disappeared in this hole; the dog followed, and as the hole was far too small for the dog to be able to turn round, he was given up as lost by his owner, a villager from Dhirauli, 2 miles off (the people of the district are said to use dogs in hunting). A few days afterwards, this dog, which is said to have been well known in the neighbourhood, turned up in one of the caves at Mâra, whence the villagers conclude that there is a subterraneous communication from this point to the cave. The story is well and widely known.

16.—MÁRÁ.

Descending the precipitous Senua Ghât and going south-eastwards at a distance of about 12 miles is Márá village

There is nothing of note in the village itself, but there are in the vicinity three groups of caves known as the Báradari Márá, Chhewari Márá, and Rawan Márá, márá meaning cave. The word is probably a derivative of mánd, a hole, whence Mandá or Mádá.

Directly to the west of the village, and about three quarters of a mile or a mile off, is a small isolated hill, with the ruins of a temple on its peak. The hill is literally honey-combed with caves, and several large boulders at the foot are also cut into caves;[1] of these last, the principal is known as the Chhergudri Cave, so called from a legend that sacrificial he-goats used to be kept here. The cave is cut in a large isolated boulder standing a short distance to the north-east to the toe of the hill; the entrance of the cave faces north. There are two rooms in this cave; the entrance is nearly perfect, but the pillars or pilasters at the sides of the entrance are worn away: when perfect, the design appears to have been simply two plain square pilasters, surmounted by plain corbels, which again supported an architrave,—an evident copy of a structural doorway. There were wooden doors once at the entrance, as the socket holes for the door pivots to work in still exist; the interior of the cave was once *polished*, but the polish has disappeared.

The outer room of this cave is oblong, 12 feet 9 inches by 6 feet 6 inches, and 6 feet 8 inches high; the entire wall at the west end of this hall is sculptured, representing a ten-armed figure holding with two hands a serpent,—one hand holds a Vajra, one a trident, two are at his temples, one hand has the fore-finger extended as in the attitude of listening, and three hands hold objects which I cannot identify. Nandi is sculptured at the feet of the figure, thus clearly proving it to be a figure of Siva. To the right and left of the principal figure are two subordinate figures.

The inner room is quite plain, and contains nothing; there is a crack in the roof of the cave, being a fault in the stone, and water consequently leaks in; in the outer hall the mark showed that in the rains water stands in it 8 or 9 inches deep. A platform, 3 feet wide, is cut out of the boulder, or rather the door of the cave is cut 3 feet back from the original face of the boulder, and the rock outside is cut away, so as to leave a platform 3 feet wide in front of the cave. A small boulder behind this cave is rudely sculptured on three faces

[1] See Plates V and VI.

into a Ganeça and two subordinate figures. A few feet to the north of this cave is a smaller boulder, also cut into a cave, but the cave has fallen in; it was larger than the last cave, being 14 feet 3 inches by 9 feet 10 inches; the entrance faces north. Opposite the entrance a part of the back wall had been left projecting, and had been sculptured into three heads. It is evidently intended for Siva. The cave was neither polished nor smoothed, as the rough chisel marks are yet visible; possibly it fell in before it could be finished. It has no name.

There are said to be a few other unimportant boulder caves, and I saw two small broken ones, all that I could find with the aid of the village guide (the only one I could get, though I held out an inducement of one rupee a day); and as there is not much jangal in the place, I believed none escaped scrutiny. The crest of the hill, in which are the other caves presently to be described, runs east and west; at the east end are two square platforms with a lingam set up in each, one quite worn. A similar arrangement exists at the west end of the hill. In the centre, which was the highest point of the hill, and is so still, stands the remains of a rock-cut temple; it faces east: in plan it is a simple square, of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet internally; externally also it is a plain square, relieved by a projection on each face. The mouldings are simple and not inelegant, but wanting in boldness. There are no objects of worship within the roofless temple; the entrance to it is 2 feet 6 inches wide and 4 feet 3 inches high. I am inclined to think that this temple was not wholly rock-cut; the upper, which does not now exist, structural; it was most probably dedicated to Siva.

As before observed, into the sides of the hill are cut numerous caves, of which I describe the principal:—

No. 1, a roughly-cut cave of a small size, one cell. The façade consists of two pillars and two pilasters, thus giving three openings. The pillars are surmounted by bracket capitals, all quite plain. An eave projects in front of the façade.

No. 2 is a large cave consisting of two long pillared halls, behind which are three rooms in a line. Behind these three rooms is another long narrow hall, into which all the rooms open. In front of the pillared halls is a level open platform, the whole rock-cut. Of course the rooms are dark and the long hall behind them still darker. These are all perfectly plain; the pillared halls are, however, ornamented; the pillars are square, with moulded bases and capitals and the usual bracket capi-

tal, the outer row of pillars having a projecting bracket also from the eave. The pillars are ornamented with square medallions sculptured into the form of a square lotus. The brackets are similarly ornamented; the mouldings are very shallow, but are ornamented with the bead and twisted cable, as well as with the plain corrugated ornamentation common in architecture. The entrance of the cave necessarily faces south, being on the south slope of the hill. At the east end of the outmost pillared hall, the wall is adorned with a large figure of the eight-armed Siva. All of the outermost row of pillars are gone, but the roof nevertheless is perfectly sound. The pillared hall behind it is adorned with sculpture on its back wall: this ornamentation consists of sculptured panels alternating with blank panels. The sculpture is too far worn to be made out; the pilasters abutting against the wall between the panels are highly ornamented, first by being notched, and further by one sculptured medallion at top and a full-length sculptured human figure below. Over the whole, the portion of rock which represents the architrave is also sculptured; the pilasters at the jambs of the one entrance in the back wall which gives access to the chambers is ornamented similarly to the pillars in the main hall.

The sculpture is far too worn to enable a correct judgment being passed on its merits. So far as the design goes, they appear stiff and highly conventional, but not without spirit. The execution appears to have been coarse, but this is partly due to the nature of the stone, an easily friable large-grained sandstone.

There is another cave of a large size, the façade being 60 feet in length; but the roofs of the first two pillared halls have fallen in. It is divided into two compartments. The first consists of three cells in a line behind each other. In the hindmost cell are two other doorways besides the entrance; one opens into a small chamber at its side, and of course perfectly dark; the other opens into a passage leading into the main cell of the next compartment; this, on its part, consists of two long pillared halls behind each other; and behind these a third pillared hall, one end of which, *viz.*, the one remotest from the first compartment, is cut off to form a chamber. The roof of this hall is borne in front on four pillars and two pilasters giving five openings; behind this hall, into which the passage from the first compartment opens, is another smaller pillared room supported on two pillars and two pilasters in the front row, thus giving three openings. From this cham-

ber a door leads at each end into a chamber. The whole of these are finely smoothed.

The cave named the "Kacheri" is a single oblong cell with a pillared façade of three openings. Within the cell, abutting against the back wall, is a raised daïs, 8 feet 3 inches long, which originally was the pedestal for a lingam, but is popularly known as the Raja's throne. In front the rock, as in all other caves, is cut level, so as to leave a fine little terrace.

A large cave, partially fallen in, is of interest as the reputed prison of Alha. A plan of it will be seen in plate III, rendering description needless. It is very irregular in plan. A large portion of the roof has come down, and now lies in enormous blocks piled on each other. Legend says that Alha was confined here, and the huge stones now lying in disorder were piled upon him to keep him down; but so wonderful was his strength that he succeeded in upsetting the stones and escaped, not through the entrance of the cave, but through a deep fissure at its back! This fissure is supposed to communicate with the fissure in the rock (chatan) on the road from Gurwoni to Senua Ghât, where the dog, as already related, disappeared in his chase after a hare, re-appearing in this cave. Alha having escaped raised an army and conquered the cruel Raja. The legend states that he was confined on the occasion of some quarrel in regard to a marriage. The legend will be found in detail, I am told, in the Prithi Raj Raisa of Chand, in the portion which describes his fights and quarrels with his uncle, who is supposed to have been reigning here according to the legend. As I have not been able to obtain access to the portion of the Raisa alluded to, and as the legendary story I heard verbally was inconsistent, I refrain from reproducing it.

Close to it is another cave, of which the front has fallen in. This cave was finely smoothed internally and decorated with colour, of which the reds and yellows exist to this day. I infer from this that the other caves were coloured also. There are some other unimportant caves. I minutely examined them all, in hopes of finding some certain criterion for the correct date of their excavation, but to no purpose; the whole of the group of caves noticed is known as the Baradari Márá—márá being not a proper name, but a word meaning cave. The village derives its name from these caves.

About 300 feet to the south-east of the hill is a well of cut stone, about 8½ feet in diameter, now dry. The stone is a poor sandstone, but well cut and closely fitted; round the

well are numerous boulders cut smooth internally into portions of a circle doubtless meant for the well; among them is a boulder cut into a model temple, flat roof inside, but of a very flat pyramidal shape externally. The lingam is sculptured over the entrance, clearly proving it to have been Saivic. The doorway was once elaborately carved, but the sculpture is now completely worn by the weather.

A mile or three-quarters of a mile nearly due south of Bâradari Márá are a group of caves known as Chhinhari or Chhewari Márá. The caves and ruins are situated near the banks of a small nala known as the Pisauli Nadi, which falls into the Myarr River lower down. The spot is enchantingly romantic, the main nala falls roaring down numerous scarped ledges, and forces itself through the interstices of huge boulders, forming small cascades and rapids overhung with the greenest vegetation which are reflected in the calm expanse of the large pools at the foot of each fall and rapid; these pools, scooped out during the rains by the force of the current, are very deep, and the water contained in them is so exquisitely transparent that it becomes difficult to judge of thelr depth by the eye. The waters, too, are tinted from dark blue through all shades of green to absolute transparency indicating the greater or lesser depth of the pools. Of these pools, or kunds as they are called, one is known as the Bhutali Kund, and it is currently believed and reported to have underground communication with the Bhamsadri Nala, which is said to flow 8 or 10 kos to north-west of this spot and to fall into the Myarr River at Sasan. I cannot find the Bhynsadri Nala on the maps, but from the village at the junction being named Sasan, it must be a name of the Kuchan Nala or of one of its tributaries. It is needless to say no such subterraneous communication is possible; but the faith of the people is not to be shaken, and they assert that the carcase of a buffalo drowned in Perewa Taluq in one of the pools of the Bhynsadri, which is similar in physical characteristics to this river, was found a short time afterwards in this pool. In a spot of such beauty it is no wonder the old ascetics and Brahmans loved to dwell. Not far from the banks of the nala is a small rock-cut temple, now buried nearly up to the point where the tower proper begins. Whether there is a door to it, or whether it is only a model of a temple, I am not certain, as, owing to a party of the Raja's tax-collecting soldiers being in the village, none of the villagers would venture to dig for me; but I think it highly probable that it is a

real temple, with a sanctum hollowed out of the rock. The tower of the temple resembles the tower of the Buddha Gaya Great Temple. I succeeded, with the aid of my private servants, in digging down to a certain depth; and in the centre of one of the mouldings, in a position which would be vertically over the doorway, was sculptured a Saivic lotus, whence I infer the temple to have been Saivic. In one of the upper niches on the face of the tower of the temple was a sculptured head with heavy earrings, similar to the Barahut ones, but without the Buddhist symbol, and similar to the thick clumsy ones they wear at this day in the district. The head is represented looking out of the usual conventional semicircular niche so common in Indian temple architecture: close to this temple is a spring. There is another spring higher up, whence a cut-stone channel leads its waters down to the nala. The spring issues out of the rock, which is cut into an open hall, the spring issuing from near the centre of its back wall. The hall faces north; on the eastern side-wall is a niche and a figure carved, representing two interlaced triangles reminding one of masonic symbols. A single word is rudely scratched on the rock, which I read as "saranam," probably a mistake for charanam. There is scratched in, besides this, half of the peculiar niche ornament alluded to above. The hall is named "Jhal-jhalia." Over the architrave, in front, are figures of a man and a woman, much in the style of the Hara Gauri figures common all over India, with five serpent hoods over the head of each. The hall is 15 feet 3 inches long and nearly 6 feet wide. In front of it is another hall, 20 feet long by 5 feet wide.

Close to these is a large cave, of which the plan will be more easily made out by a reference to the plate than by any description. The façade is ornamented with pillars having bracket capitals surmounted by the architrave and a frieze. The frieze is ornamented at intervals by the niche ornament alluded to above; but here the niche does not contain a human head, but a pointed arched opening. The existence of this ornament on the frieze helps to fix the date approximately, as the researches of General Cunningham tend to show that it is an ornament that was in use during the Gupta period, and which went out of use not very long after the extinction of the Guptas. Accord-



ingly, I would assign the particular cave in which it occurs to about the end of the fourth century, or early in the fifth century at latest. The cave, I infer, was devoted to Saivic purposes, from the existence of a lingam sculptured over a window.

The ruins at Chhewari Márá are on the left side of the nala mentioned above, and close to its banks, on the slope of a low gentle spur from the range of table-land which runs along, marking the limits between the affluents of the Gopat and the Myarr rivers respectively.

On the opposite side of the valley, not immediately opposite to Chhewari Márá, but to its south-east about half a mile, on the slope of another large spur of the table-land and a good distance from the nala, are the caves known as Ráwan Márá. The caves here are large and were profusely ornamented, though the weather, acting on the coarse-grained easily-friable sandstone, has long ago destroyed a great portion and injured all. The most important of the caves here is the Ráwán Márá or Ráwán's cave, which indeed gives its name to the whole group of caves. The cave is a large one, consisting first of a long pillared hall, behind which is another, on either side of which is a doorway leading into a chamber. The back wall of this hall is pierced by three openings, leading into three chambers which do not communicate with each other. In the centre chamber a hole has been broken through the right-hand corner of the back wall, and communicates with the next cave. In this chamber also is a bench 4 feet high along the whole length of the west or right hand wall of the chamber: it undoubtedly enshrined statues once, and from the figure of Ganeça over the entrance, it is clear the statues were Saivic. The entrance is profusely sculptured, but the sculpture is now worn, and, so far as can be made out, the design appears to have been poor, and the execution coarse. A throne, 3 feet 1 inch square, occupies the centre of the room, and doubtless seemed as a support to a lingam and argha which have long disappeared. On the wall at the back in the centre is sculptured a single large lotus flower. The other chambers are quite plain, nor are the entrances to them profusely sculptured; contrary to general custom, the back wall of the second hall, in which are the openings into the chambers, is not ornamented with pilasters in correspondence to the pillars in the front row, but has two niches in two of the spaces between the three doors; the pillars in the front row of the first hall are quite plain, though provided with the usual bracket capitals, &c., but the inner row of pillars is profusely

ornamented, not merely with sculpture, but with numerous mouldings, and they possess the usual conventional kumbha-shaped capitals below the bracket capitals. The kumbha, however, is very short, and from General Cunningham's researches it appears that the kumbhas were not introduced into architecture until the Gupta period; and the earlier ones are all shorter than those we see so frequently in Indian architecture of the ninth century and later. On this ground, and bearing in mind also the evidence as to age furnished by the cave at Chhewari Márá, I am inclined with some confidence to ascribe this cave to the fifth century of our era.

The front hall of this cave is adorned with two large pieces of sculpture occupying niches of nearly the entire extent of the side-walls. Of these, the one to the east or left hand represents a twenty-armed male figure, with several subordinate figures elaborately sculptured. The design is not spirited, but clumsy, as indeed is inevitable when 20 arms have to be represented issuing out of one pair of shoulder blades. This figure is popularly known as Rávana, hence the name of the cave; but there can be little doubt that the figure is meant for Siva. Facing it, on the opposite wall, is sculptured the figure of a ten-armed female, evidently Pârvati. In front of the cave is the usual level platform. Details of plan and section can be ascertained much better by a reference to the plates than by any description.

Close to this is another small cave, but of no interest, and still another of two rooms, the verandah, or front hall, being supported by two pillars and two pilasters; but neither is this of any special interest. I must note, as a remarkable circumstance, that I saw no tanks, wells, or springs close to these caves, and was told that water had to be brought from the nala, which runs past the Chhewari Márá caves nearly half a mile off.

About a mile west by slightly north from Baradari Márá, and near the Mârajharia river, is another group of caves known as the Biyah Márá. There are four principal caves and a few small ones on the side of the hill to the right of the nala. The hill for some distance is cut into fine level terraces, and the caves are dug in two tiers. The principal caves are large, carefully cut, and well smoothed; the plans in the plate give the necessary details. Two of the caves are similar in every respect, and show considerable skill in the symmetrical arrangement of the chambers. They consist essentially of a large hall, supported on three rows of pillars, four pillars and two

pilasters in each row, and on the back wall, which, as in the Râwan Márá example, is without pilasters, corresponding to the pillars. At the sides of the hall are two doors, one on each side, giving access to two rooms, which are rather dark. The back wall of the hall is pierced by three doors leading into three distinct chambers ; in front of the hall is the usual level terrace. The pillars are throughout ornamented with scroll work, &c., and though the weather has acted injuriously on almost the whole, there remains enough to show that pains had been taken to produce something simple and elegant. The pillars are heavy; but what would be deemed heavy, both in proportion and in sculpture, in a structural building, become appropriate in a rock-cut example. From the form of the Kumbha ornament on these pillars, I would ascribe them to a later period than the examples at Chhewari and Râwan Márá. Colour appears also to have been used, and the reds and yellows exist to this day in sheltered corners of the hall. The pillars have neither bases nor capitals properly so called, except the bracket capitals, for what serves as base here forms in structural examples of a later date a portion of the shaft proper. But this additional base of the more recent examples, consisting essentially of a cubical block, a good deal larger in section than the pillar, and ornamented not by sculpture, but mainly by mouldings (though sculpture is introduced sparingly in many cases, but only as a strictly subordinate feature of the ornamentation), does not appear to have been often in use in the earlier periods, and, from their absence in the caves here, I would feel inclined to place them at an earlier age than I would have on the evidence of the sculpture and the elongated form of the Kumbha alone; and although I cannot place them socially as the fifth century, I have no hesitation in supposing them of about the seventh century at the latest. Another of the large caves is more irregular in plan and plainer in ornamentation, the pillars being plain square shafts. It is needless to go into details, as the plan in the plate gives all that is necessary.

The principal cave which gives its name to the group is a very elaborate piece of work, as will be seen from the plan. The principal feature of this cave is its central chamber (all rock-cut of course), with its four entrances and its four pillars at the corners rendered necessary to support the extensive roof and its superincumbent weight. On careful examination, this cave appears to be in an

unfinished state. I consider it to have been intended for a copy of a structural temple. The central room, with its four corner pillars, is the very counterpart in a rock-cut example of the great Mahamandapa of structural temples, with (in the important instances) its four central highly ornate pillars and raised platform, of which the finest examples are to be seen in the great temples at Khajurâha and Udipur, near Eran; the walls are naturally a necessity in the rock-cut example to support a roof of sandstone of a weak, friable nature; the two little chambers at the sides are evident counterparts of the two exquisite windows at the sides of the great Mahamandapa of all important temples; the antarala and sanctum are alone unrepresented: but there can be no doubt, looking at the long, blank, back wall of the cave, that it does not form the legitimate end of the cave; this blank wall was evidently meant, in my opinion, to be pierced in its centre with a passage forming the antarala, followed by a door and a chamber to represent the griha-garbha, or sanctum. The ingenuity of the adaptation of a structural form to a rock-cut example must strike every visitor. True, the antarala would be gloomy, and the sanctum quite dark, but there is no help for darkness in a rock-cut structure, which does not occupy almost the entire breadth of the projecting spur of a hill of the necessary breadth, and no more; but, even in structural examples, the sanctum is always very gloomy and sometimes quite dark, notable examples of which are to be seen at Puri, Bhuwaneswar, Seorinârâyan, Râjam, and elsewhere.

Tradition calls this cave the Biyah Márá, or wedding cave, and fables that Alha-Udal's wedding took place here, or was to have taken place here. The central raised platform with its four pillars is called the Márá, being supposed to be the counterpart in stone of the little shed or canopy invariably erected in weddings, under which the customary red paint is rubbed on the forehead of the bride; the names of the poles supporting it being Malkhan, and of the canopy or thatch above, Márá. The pillars, walls, &c., of this cave are plain.

The caves in this group are in much better preservation than either the Râwan or the Chhewari Márá caves; are better disposed and in regular lines, and are conveniently situated for water; a nala, the Mârajharia, flowing along close to the front of the caves. We thus see from these caves, if my inferences as to their age be correct, that this place was of no small importance, at least from the fourth to

the ninth century (for I believe the caves of Baradari Márá to be the latest, and to date to the ninth century). It now remains to find out what the original name of the place was; the name of the present village, Márá, being evidently conferred by the existence close to it of these caves, will not help us in the least in this enquiry, and we must turn to ancient Hindu literature for the purpose. Although the evidence of the caves proves it to have been a place of importance from the fourth century, it does not follow that it was not a place of note earlier.

Before, however, this can be done, it will be necessary to identify a much more important place in the vicinity—I mean Ramgarh Hill; I will, therefore, first describe it and then proceed to identify it.

17.—RAMGARH.

This hill is now famous as one of the places containing an Asoka inscription; it is a high, isolated hill, standing not far from the Reur or Rend River. The easiest ascent is said to be over a long spur that projects out northwards towards Lakhandih; I did not see it: another and steep one is said to be on the west, towards Daurgaon (the Dergaon of the topographical map). The third one, which I travelled, is a fairly gentle ascent up one of the spurs, the longest one which projects eastwards. The hill is divided into two parts by a good-sized level terrace half-way up. On ascending the spur and reaching the main hill, one comes upon a ruined gateway, known as the Powuri gate; it is now lying in ruins; the top lintel is lying on the ground, and shows a figure of Ganeça in the middle; the gateway is approached by a flight of steps now out of repair. There were marks, when I visited the place, to show that stones from the vicinity of the gate had recently been carried off, and attempts had further been made to throw down and carry off the one jamb of the entrance that is still standing; the ascent to it is so gentle that there would be no difficulty in carrying off the stones: and as the Raja of Lakhanpur is building a new palace, which I saw in an unfinished state, and which had obviously been built of the spoils of numerous old buildings, I can readily credit the statement made to me. From the two flanks of the gate or entrance cut-stone walls, of no great thickness, extend on the two sides to some distance and then terminate abruptly; they appear to be the walls of a

building of the usual kind attached to Indian fort gateways; the walls are not continued right round the lower plateau, which is accessible in several places, notably at the two other ascents noticed above, though there are no gates there, possibly a low rubble wall which has since crumbled down ran round; the gateway now described forms the outer gateway of a building of considerable size, which tradition induces me to suppose was a gate keep: it certainly served the purpose of a place of worship also, as the fragments lying about attest; but this is not an anomaly, for in almost all the old Indian forts it has been my fortune to examine, I have invariably found the gateway (if important enough) to contain not merely rooms for the guard, but rooms dedicated to various divinities, probably to the particular tutelary divinity or divinities of the particular gateway, and often not merely one or more rooms, but the entire range of rooms or niches on either side of the central corridor filled with statues, and moreover niches both on the outer and on the inner faces of the building similarly occupied. Entering by the gateway and skirting the edge of the table-land towards the north, we came on the north side to a largish piece of level ground about 200 feet in width, through which a small river meanders, falling in cascades down the cliff after reaching the edge of the table-land; this little rivulet has its rise in a small spring which issues out of the vertical face of the central mountain on the north side. The rock here is absolutely vertical to a height of fully 200 feet, and water issues out of the joints between the layers of sandstone of which the central anvil is composed; the central mountain is called an anvil, from a resemblance it bears in form to that article. The water is beautifully clear and cold. Fairs are held here on the full moon of the months of Mâgha, Chaitral, and Vaisâkha. A plantation of plantains flourishes here, among which a wild elephant had committed sad havoc. I did not see the animal, but I traced his footsteps all over the lower plateau, and even to some distance up the ascent to the upper, which, however, it was evidently beyond his power to scale. The spring is known as "Turra." Five large mango trees, and other large trees, shade the place, and the ground is carpeted with soft, long grass, and in the immediate vicinity of the spring with the ordinary fern to be found all over India. The place is a charming spot, and, being within the "northern shade" of the central anvil, is cool throughout the day. The spot is also known as Tilak-mati, from the red-coloured earth to be found there, being the disintegrated red argillaceous stone of the

hill; and from the circumstance as reported by legend of Rama having marked his wife's forehead with the tilak, with red earth, at this spot, the beautiful passage is charmingly rendered in Griffith's translation of the *Râmâyana*, Book II, Canto XCVI. The high scarped face of the rock at the spring, of a deep red approaching to purple, is visible a long way off. Leaving the spring and winding round the foot of the hill one sees the following objects of interest: the Kabir Chaubutra, a boulder partly levelled, and the rest cut into steps to get up on the flat-cut top, where are two holes in the rock, and a small stone-seat said to have been the asthana of a saintly personage named Kabir, well-known all over India. A little way from it is a small votive chaitya, or temple of the single cell, Barâkar temple type, and near it a boulder, with a small square cell, cut and smoothed within it, and a still smaller entrance to it, the sanctum being only 17 inches square. It is said some fakir used to live within this not very long ago. It is said, of course, to have been originally inhabited by a Muni. There can be little doubt it did once form an ascetic's cell, and was cut for that purpose; it is known as the Muni's gopha. The votive stûpa is called Malkhana Goraya, or Gorayachá, a name calling to one's mind at once the Goraya baba of Bundelkhand and elsewhere. As far as I can gather, the word means devata, or is the name of a devata. Of the aboriginal tribes, it is an object of worship, or at least of reverence, to the Gours and Kols about the place, but not to the Brahmans. Sacrifices are, it is said, offered here occasionally; but the surrounding villages being all Brahman villages, these must be very few and far between. Still rounding the hill is a small ruined square platform, which I discovered, but which was unknown to the people of the place; it is clearly the remains of a small temple, all the stones of which have been carried off elsewhere.

Further on in the scarped face of the central anvil is a place where the rock overhangs considerably, leaving at its foot a longish strip of ground partially sheltered from the weather; this place is known as Gosain tilak. On the rock here are sculptured in outline several figures; though rude, the designs show considerable spirit: an elephant-fight shows one of the elephants running pursued by the other; the vanquished one has his tail twisted comically up in the air, and is evidently running for life; the other is also evidently deter-

mined not to mince matters, but to settle accounts with his antagonist once for all. In a small space or compartment marked out in outline are two figures, male and female, both also in outline; the female is elegant, as is also the man, and the prominent folds of their dresses are well and spiritedly rendered: altogether the designs, though only in outline, display an amount of spirit which in my judgment places them at *least* as early as the earliest of the Gupta sculptures. I deliberately make this assertion on the strength of the sculpture, there being not a trace of a written character on the rock or near it. Here are collected all sorts of fragments of what once were divinities in various stages of dismemberment, mostly Saivic and almost all poor in spirit and execution, and clearly of a date long posterior to the rock sculpture noticed; but though dismembered, the shadow of their past position yet secures for them plentiful libations of butter-milk, red-earth, and white-earth; they have been collected, it appears to me, partly from the ruins of the temples already noticed on this terrace, and partly rolled down from the temples on the central high table. From the vicinity of this spot begins the ascent to the top, at first not very steep and practicable for elephants, at least for wild ones; it soon becomes too steep for animals larger than a goat: it appears that at one time the ascent was cut into a long flight of steps, as remains of it exist to this day. After a steep climb is the single dwár; this is a gateway, of which some parts are ancient and some modern; the original gate appears to have been a plain, unpretending structure in the Hindu style, if indeed it deserves the name of style at all. But to this have been made additions of a decidedly past Muhammadan style by way of ornament, and the junction of the old and new work is perfectly distinct. The ornamentation consists mainly of two ornamental screens, one for the façade, one for the rear; the façade in front consists of a flat-cased Moorish pointed arch, built not as a true arch, nor cut out of a large slab of stone, but of overlapping stones, of which there are six, three on each side; from the centre hangs the remains of a boss: the rear façade consists also of an arch of the Moorish form of double curvature, but perfectly plain. Between these two screens the space is roofed by an arched sheeting, of which I could not, from its position, examine the construction; its intrados is richly sculptured, and bosses hang from the centre. This gateway leads into a court about 20 feet

long by 10 feet wide, on the left side of whose walls is the doorway leading up. The entrance and exit from this court are, consequently, on two adjacent sides of the court, an arrangement very common in the gates of forts, and even of dwelling houses, the object in the latter case being that even when both doors are left open for free exit, people outside cannot see into the dwelling. Facing the entrance was a small temple enshrining, not a bas relief, but a finely-cut and elaborately finished *statue* of Siva. The temple is in ruins, but the figure exists in fair preservation; it is a half-kneeling figure, with the hand joined at the chest, half disclosing and half concealing an almond-shaped emblem, similar to the figures of Siva at Seorinârâyan, and which I take to represent the Yoni. On the shoulders of the figure are serpents, and they are also sculptured on the pedestal of the figure; the hair is represented as twisted into a spiral, and disposed as a corona at the back of the head. The figure is two-armed, and in features resembles the natives of the surrounding district. Here I may note that the "Baiga," or priest of the Gonds, has features differing from the natives, being a closer approach to Aryan features than those of the aboriginal natives; the figure is known as Deogun Guru, and is clearly that of Siva. The other sides of the court are colonnaded. Passing out of this court through the entrance to the left is a magnificent flight of 48 steps, now partly in ruins, which lead to a ruined temple full of broken figures. These figures are popularly known as Ravana, Mahi Ravana, Meghanatha, &c., &c., and their attendants, and the temple is accordingly known as Rawan's Baithká, also as Sámdhin Bàra. Of this latter name I could get no satisfactory meaning. I was told that there used to be formerly on the top of one of the central pillars twelve stone loaves (*chapâtis*); these were said to have been removed not long ago by a jogi to the temple on the top of the peak of the hill. I saw these 12 *chapatis*, and found the stone was nothing more or less than the flat portion of the stone amalaka, which doubtless once crowned the tower of the temple. The principal figure known as Râvan is a twenty-armed Durga slaying the Mahesásura. Of the others, the principal ones are a Hanumân, with his tail large as life, and a statue, not bas-relief, of the eight-armed Siva. There are numerous fragments of pillars, each adorned with four figures on four sides. Near the foot of the steps is a figure known as Jhaggar Khân, to whom offerings of goats are made by the Gours, I am told.

temple to have been sacred to Vishnu; it is probably built of the remains of a still older temple which once existed on the spot, as the lower door-sill of the existing entrance shows that it once belonged to a temple with bold and deeply-recessed jambs. As no traces of such jambs exist now, they have either been buried in the ruins or carried off elsewhere, or the existing door-sill has been brought from some other place to its present site—an unlikely supposition. To the present temple, judging from its shallow mouldings and general want of relief, I cannot ascribe any great antiquity; and I would not place it earlier than the eleventh century of our era.

Descending the hill by the road we ascended (the only means of access I could hear of), and skirting not the base of the central anvil, but the edge of the plateau at its foot, one comes upon a place known as the Paturia dhas; this is a semi-circular tower-like natural projection of the rock forming a natural round tower rising sheer out of the tangled scrub below, absolutely vertical for several hundred feet. The interior of this natural tower has been hollowed, or dug into, and levelled just deep enough to be about 4 feet below the crest of the rock of which the tower consists, leaving a thin wall standing all round. This wall, again, is cut into a bench, so that people can comfortably sit round the open space and lean against the wall, which forms, as it were, a continuous battlement to the tower. It is said that Râma and his companions in exile used to sit here and enjoy the nautches got up for his amusement. On one of these occasions the clothes of one of the dancers, who in India are invariably women of easy virtue (Paturias, in fact), had the misfortune to slip off, exposing her person, and she, through shame, immediately jumped down, or rather slid down, the precipice through a gap in the surrounding wall which still exists, and through which I was also very near following her, as the ground inside slopes to this gap, and the grass which carpets the place is treacherously slippery.

Continuing to skirt the outer edge of the plateau, and following a narrow path which appears to descend the hill, one comes upon a number of large natural open caves. Here, it is said, Munis and Rishis used to reside—some say Râm himself used to live here. There are also near these caves several small pools of water; but when I visited the place only one of them contained any. Whether Râma did or not, Rama's name certainly does reside in these caves with a ven-

geance, for the last occupant has completely filled every inch of available spot in and about the caves with the names of Râma and Sitâ in red and white earth! When the fair is held on this hill, pilgrims visit this place also. It is said this used to be Vâlmiki's residence, hence the pilgrimage. But the most important remains of antiquity are to be found on the side of the spur, up which lies the ascent from the village of Udaipur, the eastern ascent. On the right, or north face, of this spur, about the middle third of the slope, is a cave known as "Sitâ Bangira," or Sita's cave—"bangiri" meaning, so far as I can make out, a residence. It is evidently the local form of the common Hindustani word "bangala," Anglice "bungalow." The cave is a large, natural cavern, improved by art. In plan, the cave is an oblong, nearly 45 feet long, with straight ends and one straight side, the back wall being not straight, but curved (see plan). A bench, 3½ feet wide and 2 feet high above the lowest level of the floor of the cave, runs along the two ends and the back of the cave, following the curve of the back wall; a second bench, 2 inches lower, runs below it, as shown in plan. The spaces enclosed between the prolongation of the line of jambs and this bench at either end, are 1 foot 4 inches lower than the second bench, while the remaining oblong strip just at the entrance is 6 inches lower than this again, and is the lowest spot in the cave. The roof is 6 feet high at the entrance and quite flat in front of the entrance, and leading up to it from the outside are a series of several circular steps, and two series, one on each side, of smaller and less steep stairs; the whole arrangement of these steps is very artistic. Within the cave are several sculptures; one of a female, broken, represents her with palms joined at the chest, and half-hiding, half displaying, the almond-shaped emblem which I have before noticed, and which occurs also at Seorinârâyan: a trisul is on her right. There is also a smaller seated figure with the heads in a similar position close to her. I cannot pronounce with certainty what particular goddess this figure is meant to represent, though the trisul leads me to identify her with Párváti.

Two figures, partially broken, of which one is inscribed in two places, near the head and at the feet; the former has been completely broken off, leaving just the beginning of the first letter visible. The inscription at the foot is also worn, but enough remains to show that it was merely a pilgrim's record, "Sri ta * * * * pranamati;" the material is an

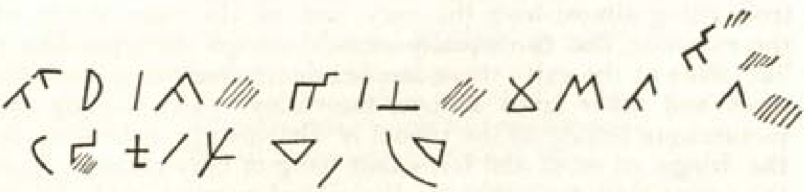
easily-corroded sandstone, very coarse-grained; of a yellowish colour. Two statues, one male and one female, with the palms joined at the chest and similar to the one described; these two figures appear to be more ancient than those described from a peculiarity of the dress of the figures, and from the boldness and freedom of design. Of the execution, no correct judgment can be given, as age and the friable nature of the stone have helped to disfigure them. The figures are dressed in a long thin sheet which goes round the head, and of which the ends are seen flying out from the side about the middle of the back.

There are besides two small figures with bows and arrows, and a figure of Hanumân at the upper right-hand corner; they are evidently intended for Râma and Lakshmana. But the most remarkable object in this cave, and which confers on it its present importanoe in the eyes of antiquarians, is an inscription cut on the right jamb of the entrance in Asoka characters; it is a short inscription in two lines, but is very interesting. It will be out of place to say anything further about the inscription, as it will be fully noticed in General Cunningham's forthcoming work on Indian inscriptions. Besides this important Asoka inscription, there is on the left jamb one line of inscription in mediæval Nâgari; also a single compound letter of the Asoka period, *pt* and a number of plain strokes as if some one had kept a count of something.

The interior of the cave is perfectly plain, and though smoothed the walls do not appear to have been polished,—they may have been painted, and from the evidence of the next cave, the Jogi Márá, I am inclined to think it was; but earth-wash must long ago have obliterated all traces of it, even if the smoke from the *chulas* of its subsequent occupants had not.

Close to it and to its right is an open, natural, semi-dome-shaped cavity, which had at one time been improved by art. This cave is known as Jogi Márá, or the Jogi's cave, probably from some jogi who, in times long posterior to its original adaptation, took up his quarters there. This cave is not any ways remarkable for either elegance or design, but it is interesting as containing an inscription in Asoka characters, which, as it will be noticed in General Cunningham's forthcoming work, I need not further dwell upon; it is further interesting on account of the painting on the ceiling or roof which still exists in places. The colours used, so far as can now be made out, were two shades of red, yellow, brown, green, and black. The design appears to have

been composed of concentric rows of figures: I noticed figures of birds, of fishes, of trees, and of human figures, besides flowery scroll-work; but the execution appears to have been coarse and the design appears stiff; the floor of the cave is now filled in to a certain extent with earth, and the roof leaks through minute fissures. Besides the inscriptions on the wall of the cave, there are some letters *scratched* in into the paint on the roof; these are—



In addition to the objects of interest already enumerated, Ramgarh Hill possesses a natural curiosity in the shape of a tunnel through the spur in which the caves exist. A little rivulet rising in and flowing through the valley at the foot of the spur, is joined by another which comes from beyond the next spur, and the two combined have forced their way through the spur. It appears from an examination of the valley that it was at some remote period a lake, for this valley has no outlet, except through the tunnel; supposing it to have been a lake, the caves noticed would be most picturesquely situated on its margin. The waters of the lake appear to have eventually forced a passage through the spur by a long tunnel; the tunnel is 450 feet in length, the least dimension of the tunnel being at a point 250 feet from the mouth, where it measures only 16 feet across. The roof, which is an irregular curve, being here 12 feet above the bed of the nala at its highest point. At its entrance the tunnel is 55 feet wide, with a height to the crown of its natural arch of over 100 feet; but it diminishes rapidly, being only 32 feet wide at a distance of 40 feet from the entrance, with a height of about 20 feet, and goes on diminishing gradually to its minimum dimensions, beyond which it increases again, being 35 feet wide and about 16 feet high at 400 feet from the entrance, and 90 feet wide at its exit. A long bench, at a minimum height of about 4 feet above the bed of the nala, runs along the whole length of the tunnel, demonstrating that when the pent-up waters first forced a way through the rock, the bed of the nala was 4 feet at least (and probably

more) higher than now, leaving for the minimum height of arch only 8 feet; but even this would not correctly represent the really small opening which at first allowed exit to the waters, as the passage is obstructed by large boulders projecting from both sides. The material through which the nala has forced its way is a yellowish coarse-grained sandstone at the extrance and exit, but in the middle it is a hard and, so far as I could judge in the gloom, granitic rock, with roughly rhomboidal planes of cleavage, two magnificent mango trees rising almost from the very bed of the nala shade of the entrance, and two equally superb mango trees perform a like office at the exit; there are, besides, numerous tall sakhua trees and other trees all over the valley. The striking and picturesque beauty of the tunnel is charmingly enhanced by the fringe of moss and ferns that hang in fairy clusters from the crown, and haunches of the grand natural arch hiding irregularities and imparting an air of softness to the outline, and a contrast of colour with the dull yellow of the rock which even an artist's pencil may vainly attempt to render. The tunnel runs almost exactly south-east; it is called "the Hathphor." There are some other caves, one in particular on the south side of a spur some distance from the Hathphor, the only one of several caves there that are now accessible, and which is well cut and smoothed and almost polished; the others being no longer accessible, and a few in the valley of the Hathphor itself, but as they are of no special interest, this mention of them I consider sufficient.

I have now finished the description of the objects of interest in the hill. Tradition says, Sitâ used to reside in the cave known as Sitâ Bangira. The Reur River, which flows not very far off from the foot of the hill, is identified with the Mandakini, though some apply the name to the small rivulet which descends down the hill on the north, from the spring known as Turra and noticed before; and tradition further says that this is the Chitrakuta Hill rendered immortal by Râma's sojourn. Contrary to usual, I give my hearty support to the correctness of the legend, and I hope to prove to my readers as I have to myself (though sorely against my will, for I must confess to a prejudice against admitting the correctness of legends), that this is really the Chitrakuta of the Râmâyana, and consequently that the hill known as Chitrakut in Bundelkhand is not the hill where Râma resided.

Let me quote the Râmâyana.

Bharadwaja, addressing Râma, says (II, p. 205, Bk. II, Canto LIV)—

I.— "Go forth to Chitrakuta Hill,

* * *

There with expanding heart to look
On river, table-land, and brook,
And see the foaming torrent rave
Impetuous from the mountain cave."

II.—Again, Bk. II, Canto LV, Griff., p. 208—

"To Chitrakuta have I oft
Trodden that path so smooth and soft,
Where burning woods no traveller scare,
But all is pleasant, green, and fair."

III.—Again, p. 212, Vol. II, Bk. II, Canto LVI—

"The glorious Chitrakuta see:
His peaks are in the cloud;
On fair smooth ground he stands displayed,
Begirt by many a tree.
Oh! brother in that holy shade,
How happy shall we be!
Then Râma, Lachman, Sitâ, each
Spoke, raising suppliant hands, this speech,
To him in woodland dwelling met.
Valmiki ancient anchoret."

IV.—Again, describing the beauties of Chitrakuta, Griff. II, p. 376, Bk. II, Canto XCIV—

"Look on the level lands above,
The mountain seems with bright cascade
And sweet rill bursting from the shade."

V.—Again, Griff., Vol. II, p. 379, Bk. II, Canto XCV, describing the Mandâkini River—

"Then Râma, like the lotus-eyed,
Descended from the mountain side,
And to the Maithil lady showed
The lovely stream that softly flowed.

* * * *

Mandâkini's delightful brook,
Adorned with islets, blossoms gay."

* * * *

"My heart exults with pleasure new,
The shelving bank and ford to view,
Where gathering herds of thirsty deer
Disturb the wave that ran so clear.
Now, look those holy hermits mark,
In skins of deer and coats of bark,

With twisted coils of matted hair,
The reverend men are bathing there;
And as they lift their arms on high,
The Lord of day they glorify."

VI.—Again, Vol. II, p. 382, Bk. II, Canto XCVI—

"North of the mountain Râma found
A cavern in the sloping ground.
* * * *
Does this fair cave beneath the height,
Videhan lady, charm thy sight?"

VII.—Again, Vol. II, p. 389, Bk. II, Canto XCVII—

"Thus Râma showed his love the rill,
Whose waters ran beneath the hill;
Then resting on his mountain seat,
Refreshed her with the choicest meat:
So there reposed the happy two."
* * * *
"Lakshman in haste the wood to view,
Climbed a high sâl that near him grew."

VIII.—Again, Vol. II, p. 399, Bk. II, Canto C—

"Not far from where we stand, must be
The woodland stream Mandâkini;
Here, on the mountain's woody side,
Roam elephants in tusked pride."

IX.—Again, Bharat, enquiring of Bharadwaja the road to Chitrakuta, Vol. II, p. 367, Bk. II, Canto XCII—

"Ere the fourth league from here be passed,
Amid a forest wild and vast,
Stands Chitrakuta's mountain tall,
Lonely with wood and waterfall.
North of the mountain thou wilt see
The beauteous stream Mandâkini.
* * * *
Hence to the south thine army lead,
And then more southward still proceed;
So shalt thou find his lone retreat,
And there the son of Raghu meet.

X.—From the Mejhaduta, Wilson's Translation—

"Hence, sailing to the north and veering west,
On Amrakuta's lofty ridges rest.
* * * *
Next, bending downwards from thy lofty flight,
On Chitrakuta's humbler peak alight;
O'er the tall hill thy weariness forego,
And quenching rain-drops on its flames bestow:

For speedy fruits are certain to await—
Assistance yielded to the good and great.
Thence journeying onwards, Vindhya's ridgy chain
And Reva's rill, that bathes its foot, attain;
Where, amidst rocks whose variegated glow
The royal elephants' rich trappings show,
Arduous she winds, and next thro' beds of flowers
She wins her away and washes jambu bowers.
* * * *
Lo! where awhile the swans reluctant cower
Dasârna's fields await the coming shower."

XI.—From the Raghuvansa, Chap. 13, which I translate—

"DEAREST,—There is Sarabhanja Rishi's holy grove of penance. The great Rishi Sarabhanja at first used to perform the homa with fuel and fire; finally, he offered his own body as a sacrifice in the flaming fire. Although he is gone to the other world, still the trees of his hermitage, by granting a shady resting-place to wearied travellers and abundance of sweet fruit to relieve their hunger, keep up, like his children, the traditional rites of hospitality. Oh! enchanting lady, there see to the east that great mountain, Chitrakuta. The caves of Chitrakuta are rich in the sound of trickling waters, and the summit of its peak, piercing into and unenveloped by dark clouds, resembles a huge bull, which, bearing on its horns the dark-coloured earth he has upturned, is bellowing loudly. Look! how beautifully that same Mandâkini River is lying extended close to Chitrakuta. The water of the Mandâkini is very clear and there is no current in it, wherefore from a distance it appears as though the pearl necklace of Prithivi is lying on the earth. There see the tamala tree close to the hill, from the young shoots of which I prepared pendant golden-coloured ornaments for your ears; and that forest that becomes visible is the grove of penance of Atri Muni."

In a case like this, where a well-known hill already enjoys the reputation of being the famous Chitrakuta, my task becomes divided into two parts—first, to disprove the existing identity; and, second, to establish the fresh one.

From the first quotation it is evident that the Chitrakuta Hill contained table-land, a brook, a river close by, and a torrent issuing "impetuous from a mountain cave."

The second quotation shows that on the road from Prayâga to Chitrakuta there were no burning forests.

The third quotation shows that the mountain was tall and peaked, and stood in a plain where all is green and fair.

From the fourth quotation the hill appears to have had table-lands on its summit.

From the fifth quotation it appears the Mandâkini was adorned with islands.

From the sixth there appears to have been a noted cave on the north side of the hill.

From the seventh there appears to have been a rill in Chitrakuta, which ran "beneath the hill."

From the eighth the place appears to have been frequented by elephants.

The ninth quotation shows that the road to Chitrakuta from Allahabad went "south and more south," and the hill had lonely woods and waterfalls; and to its north might be seen the Mandâkini.

From the tenth it appears that the cloud, after leaving Amarkantak, came to Chitrakuta, thence on to the Vindhyas, and then to Dasârna.

From the eleventh it is evident that Râma's celestial car, flying direct from Lanka to Prayâga, passes within view of Chitrakuta, which is represented as standing to the east of the path of the car.

The Chitrakuta Hill of Bundelkhand fulfils none of the conditions above detailed:

1st.—It contains no table-land, nor a torrent "issuing impetuous from a mountain cave."

2nd.—On the road from Allahabad to this Chitrakuta, if there is one feature which attracts the attention of travellers, it is the burning hills. The hills in these parts are covered with low brushwood and grass; there are no forest trees whatsoever on these bare and sterile hills. The consequence is, that when the grass is dry the least spark sets it on fire; and the villagers of the present day, after securing their stock of grass necessary for thatching, purposely set it on fire, to dislodge hare, partridge, and other small game, which, fleeing out of cover, are shot or taken.

3rd.—The Bundelkhand Chitrakuta is neither tall nor peaked: it is a round-knobbed hill, resembling nothing so nearly as a gigantic Buddhist stûpa, and equally bare; the only green trees about it are a few acacias and fig trees, which have succeeded in taking root in the interstices of the huge fissured blocks.

4th.—There is not half a rood of table-land on the Chitrakuta Hill of Bundelkhand.

5th—The Payoshni River is not adorned with islands.

6th.—There is no cave in the hill.

7th.—There is no rill in Chitrakuta which runs beneath the hill.

8th.—Elephants are not to be found there, and, even as early as Akbar's reign, no elephants were to be found there, indeed the nature of the forest there is not such as would

suit elephants; there is no forest but scrub, and elephants won't live in scrub jangal.

9th.—Chitrakuta, in Bundelkhand, lies only about 15 degrees to the south of due west from Allahabad, and the direction of the road to it cannot possibly be said to be south and more south; it has besides no lovely woods or waterfalls.

10th.—The Chitrakuta of the present day is itself among the Vindhyas, and the cloud could not possibly go from it "on to the Vindhyas," as there are no hills worthy of the name between it and the Jumna River; whereas, according to Kâlidâsa, we ought to find a long range of hills and a river bathing its slopes after leaving Chitrakuta and going "*on*,"—the cloud, be it remembered, is coming from Râmagiri (Râmtek) and going to the Himâlayas; but the poet, knowing the formidable nature of the Mekal range between Riva and the Central Provinces, comprising in breadth the whole width of Ramgarh and Mandla, wisely makes the cloud go first east to Mallabhum. The geography of the Meghaduta is quite a study. So cleverly does the poet assign the times and directions of motions of the cloud, as not only to avoid as much as possible great natural obstructions, but to suit, according to the season in which he represents the cloud at any particular place, the particular prevailing wind then in force in that place; for instance, he sends it first east, to near the eastern coast—not a word is said then about rain-drops, &c.; wherefore we conclude it is the end of the dry season. Indeed, he distinctly mentions the month "Asadha," which may be taken to be the end of May, at which time the rains have not begun there, and the hot west winds then prevalent naturally carry the "cloud messenger" eastwards to the coast; by the time it has reached the coast the rains have set in there, which is quite proper. The poet next makes the cloud come "west, and veering to the north," the precise course of the wind at the time; it being well known in the eastern part of the Central Provinces that the east and south-east winds bring rain (as, indeed, I have myself experienced); then the cloud sails nearly north, the prevailing direction in the middle Rewa territory of the rain bringing wind, till it is stopped by the Vindhya range,—*i.e.*, the south edge of it, which we now call the Kymore. The poet's graphic description of the "Rewa's rill, which bathes its foot," and its "arduous winds," can leave us in no doubt whatsoever as to what he refers to. Having at the outset avoided crossing breadthways the lofty chain of the

Mekal hills, because the poet saw that he could not reasonably expect the cloud to perform such a feat, and having carefully throughout the entire poem avoided making his cloud cross great ranges of hills, it would have been most inconsistent in him to have made his poor cloud run along the fearful *length* of that very Mekal chain of which, to cross the breadth alone, he considered an inconsistency. Professor Wilson's notes, however, would make out that the author, having made the cloud go from Amarkantak to Chitrakot (the modern Chitrakot, for the Professor had no suspicion that the modern Chitrakot is not Kalidas's Chitrakot) right across the great range of the Vindhyas and Kymore, without saying a word about it, brings it back again southwards, straight across the same ranges with the same silence, and winds up by condemning it to rush through the fearful country along the Narmmada river; for to such a result we are led by his rendering of Rewa's rill, based on Amarkosha's synonyms for the Narmmada (Amarkosha says, Reva (tu) Narmmada somodhhava Mekala Kanyaka). I do not mean to dispute the correctness of the passage in Amarakosha; I am no Sanskrit scholar, and I must leave the task to Sanskrit scholars, who have the means of critically examining the passage in the various versions of the original that can be found; but I emphatically record my conviction that, unless Kâlidâsa wrote his poem in a deranged state of mind, he could never have meant to send the cloud along the Narmmada River, and across backward and forward from Amarkantak to the northernmost limit of Bundelkhand. To revert, however, to the main thread of my explanation, the "Rewa's rill" referred to can, I conceive, be no other than the one river which of all others deserves to be called the stream of Rewa, the Son, which for a distance of 200 miles bathes the foot of "Vindhya's ridgy chain" and "arduous winds" between the Kymore and the Kenjur ranges; the cloud *is not made to cross the* range,—a proceeding quite in keeping with the whole character of the route of the cloud; and when we see that the next place the cloud arrives at is Dasârna's field, it is perfectly clear that the poet has supposed the cloud to have skirted the range and entered Dasârna's fields by the same routes and passes by which the great road between Ujain to Mirzapur enters the fertile fields watered by the Dasan (the ancient Dasârna River); and in this I am confirmed by the next place mentioned in the course of the cloud, *viz.*, Vidisa or Bhilsa, which is on the great Ujain and Mirzapur road.

Chitrakuta, therefore, it is clear, must be some place to the north of Amarkantak and south of the Vindhyas, and it will soon be shown that Râmgarh Hill is the only hill which satisfies all the necessary conditions.

11th.—The modern Chitrakot being to the west of Allahabad, Râma's car coming flying from Ceylon to Allahabad would pass to east of it, and Râma could not possibly point to Chitrakuta as lying to the east.

Let us now see how Râmgarh Hill fulfils the conditions.

1st.—Râmgarh Hill does contain table-land, a brook, a river close by, and that most rare feature which few hills can show—a torrent issuing "impetuous from a mountain cave;" see my description of the Hathphor tunnel.

2nd.—I marched from Bharhut through Rewa territory, close to Râmgarh Hill, on to Ganjam, and again from Chunar past Ramgarh Hill to Kalahandi, and I saw no hills set fire to; in many parts, both in Bundelkhand and elsewhere, the hills are covered not with dense forest, but with scrub and grass: the traveller almost invariably sees the hills blazing at night as soon as the grass is dry enough to catch fire, but the forests of this part of India are so green and so dense, with so little scrub and grass, that it is no easy matter to set it on fire.

3rd.—Râmgarh Hill is a high, tall hill, with a peak, and it does stand in a plain of small extent.

4th.—Râmgarh Hill has extensive table-land on its summit.

5th.—The Reur River, which flows past it, is adorned with islands, and its character is that of long reaches of still water with rapids at intervals.

6th.—The great cave of Sitâ Bangira, in Râmgarh Hill, is on the north slope of its north-east spur.

7th.—There is a rill in Râmgarh Hill, which literally runs beneath the hill; *vide* my account of the Hathphor tunnel.

8th.—Râmgarh Hill is visited by wild elephants to this day, and was so in the days of Akbar.

9th.—Râmgarh Hill lies only about 18 degrees east of due south from Allahabad.

10th.—The cloud from Amarkantak would, after passing Râmgarh Hill, naturally meet the Vindhyas in its onward course; *vide supra.*

11th.—Râmgarh Hill does lie east of the great road from Allahabad to Ramisseram, and at no great distance, and

would naturally be visible, and to the east of Râma's flying car in its course from Lanka to Prayâga.

Since, therefore, this hill fulfils all the necessary conditions, and further as local traditions assert that it is the true Chitrakuta, and as no other place that I am aware of fulfils all the conditions, I consider it as established with as much certainty as our present knowledge allows, that Râmgarh Hill is the famous Chitrakuta of Râma. Of course, Chitrakuta is a vast deal more than 4 leagues from Allahabad, taking the league in its modern sense; but when all the evidence we have points to Râmgarh Hill, and it is more than 4 leagues from Allahabad, the only reasonable course to pursue is to derive the value of the league from its known distance from Allahabad; and as Allahabad is by road about 240 miles from Râmgarh Hill, we get the value of the measure of length which Mr. Griffiths has translated "leagues" as 60 miles nearly.

Let us see what light will be thrown on Râma's wanderings by the above discoveries. After Bharata's departure from Chitrakuta, the hermits who were living there also left the place. Griff. Rama, Vol. II, p. 466, Canto CXVI, Bk. II—

> "The words the hero spoke,
> The hermit's purpose failed to break;
> To Raghu's son farewell he said,
> And blessed the chief and comforted,
> Then with the rest the holy sage
> Departed from the hermitage."

Râma soon after gets tired of the place, Bk. II, Canto CXVII, Griff.—

> "But dwelling in that lonely spot,
> Left by the hermits, pleased him not."

and accordingly—

> "His spouse and Lachman by his side,
> He came to Atri's pure retreat."

I am inclined to regard Márá as the site of Atri's hermitage, and the reason will be apparent as we proceed; but one of the reasons is that Márá is situated on "one road," as the hermit says—

> "By this one path our hermits go
> To fetch the fruits that yonder grow;
> By this, oh prince! thy feet should stray
> Through pathless forests far away."

From Atri's hermitage Râma goes through Dandak wood and sees another hermitage; the hermits come forward and acknowledge Râma as king.—Vol. III, p. 3, Bk. III, Canto I, Griff., Râma—

"All we have is thine, they said,
Then reverent hand to hand applied;
Each duty loving hermit cried,
The king is our protector, bright
In fame, maintainer of the right.
He bears the awful sword, and hence
Deserves an elder's reverence.
One-fourth of Indra's essence he
Preserves his realm from danger free;
Hence honoured by the world of right,
The king enjoys each choice delight.
Thou shouldst to us protection give,
For in thy realm, dear lord, we live:
Whether in town or wood thou be,
Thou art our king, thy people we."

From the above passage we see that the hermits acknowledged Râma as their king; it was no mere courteous expression of submission; the circumstance of their saying that he was their king, whether he lived in town or wood, shows that these hermits were really living within the bounds of Dasaratha's raj.

From here he goes on, meets, and is carried by Viradha in the direction he was going; for Râma says to Lachman, Bk. III, Canto III—

"Oh! Lakshman let Viradha still
Hurry us onward where he will;
For look Sumitra's son, he goes
Along the path we freely chose."

He then kills Viradha, who tells him before dying that Sarabhanja's cot is not far distant: Râma accordingly goes on to Sarabhanja's hermitage.

Sarabhanja receives them, as says Bk. III, Canto V—

"Sutikshna's woodland home is near—
A glorious saint, of life austere;
True to the path of duty: he
With highest bliss will prosper thee.
Against the stream thy course must be—
Of this fair brook, Mandâkini,
Whereon light rafts like blossoms glide,
Then to his cottage turn aside."

Sarabhanja then burns himself in the fire.

The hermits of this hermitage then come and claim Râma's protection; Râma., Vol. III, p. 24, Bk. III, Canto VI—

"To thee, O Lord! for help we fly,
And on thy love of right rely;
With kindly patience hear us speak,
And grant the boon we humbly seek.
That lord of earth were most unjust,
Foul traitor to his solemn trust,
Who should a sixth of all require,
Nor guard his people like a sire.

* * *

Come Râma, come, and see hard by
The holy hermits' corpses lie,
Where many a tangled pathway shows
The murderous work of cruel foes.
These wicked fiends the hermits kill
Who live on Chitrakuta's Hill,
And blood of slaughtered saints has dyed
Mandâkini and Pampas' side."

From here Râma goes to Sutikshna's hermitage: Bk. III, Canto VII, Vol. III, p. 27—

"Through woods for many a league he passed
O'er rushing rivers full and fast,
Until a mountain fair and bright
As lofty Meru rose in sight."

From here Râma having obtained permission to roam about and see the surrounding hermitages starts: Râma., Bk. III, Canto XI—

"And when the sun was low at last
A lonely stream-fed lake he spied."

* * *

Through every age is known to fame
Panchapsaras, its glorious name"

so called after five Apsaratis sent to beguile Mandâkani Muni. I think I am able to identify each one of those spots. It is worthy of remark that the hermits of the nameless hermitage where Râma went after leaving Atri's hermitage, and also the hermits of Sarabhanja's hermitage, claim Râma as their king and legitimate protector. Indeed, the hermits, disciples probably of Sarabhanja, distinctly claim his protection on the plea that as kings take a sixth of their goods, they are bound to protect them; this argument, it is clear, could only have been urged upon Râma if he were king and actually receiving (in person or by proxy) the taxes men-

tioned as a sixth of the produce. The language on both occasions leaves no doubt whatever on the mind that these two hermitages were actually within the limits of Dasaratha's raj. It is worthy of note by way of contrast that the hermits of Chitrakuta, of Atri's hermitage, of Sutikshna's hermitage, or of Panchapsara's, or subsequently when Râma goes wandering about Sutikshna's hermitage, never address Râma in language which can be represented as distinctly claiming his protection because they lived within his raj, and paid taxes to him or his Court. I infer hence that those two hermitages were actually within the limits, and the others beyond the limits, of Dasaratha's raj.

This being admitted, and it being known that Ayodhya, the capital of Râma's raj, lay to the north of each and all these hermitages, it is evident that the two hermitages which were within the raj lay northernmost of all the hermitages I have alluded to.

Further, it is evident from the quotation I have given embodying Sarabhanja's directions to Râma to seek Sutikshna's hermitage, that Sarabhanja's hermitage lay on the Mandâkini River, a river we have just before identified as the present Reur.

Further, from the quotation given before from the Raghuvansa, it is clear that Sarabhanja's hermitage lay on a great pilgrim road.

These two circumstances enable us to fix the spot with almost absolute certainty. The only point where the great pilgrim road from Benares touches the Reur River is at Saipur, which is on the Reur River; of the other pilgrim roads from Allahabad through Rewa, the only one that comes anywhere within 20 miles of the Reur, is the one through Márá, joining the great pilgrim road from Benares midway between the caves of Kothar and Mará, and not touch the Reur River at all, going down south through Sonhat and Pâli at a distance of fully 15 miles from the nearest point of the river.

We have now fixed the locality of Sarabhanja's hermitage. I may mention in passing that Saipur is known to contain ancient remains; but though I have twice seen it, once from table-land above Semna Ghât and once from the heights of Rasonki, I have not examined the place; it now remains to fix the others. Let us review the route by which Râma arrives at, and departs from, this place. Of the former we have no indications beyond this, that Atri's hermitage and a nameless

hermitage were on the road; of the latter we have most precise indications. Râma followed the Reur River going up stream, and then after a certain indefinite distance, and after crossing many fast-flowing streams, he "turned aside" to Sutikshna's hermitage near a high hill.

In a hill-country any individual hill to be noticed at al must be very remarkable. I have on two different occasions traversed the country in the vicinity, and the only remarkable hills on the sides of the Reur River above Saipur are Râmgarh Hill and Pilka Pahar; both are high, "tall," as the Ramayan says, and both stand up from a plain unconnected with any adjoining hills. Râmgarh Hill has been already identified with Chitrakuta. There remains then Pilka Pahar as the only hill which can be identified with the hill near Sutikshna's hermitage. I will give the evidence of tradition subsequently as corroborative evidence, for I should consider it a sorry identification if it rested wholly on tradition. Here it is enough to show that it is the one hill which along the sides of the whole course of the Reur River satisfies the requisite conditions; we may, therefore, assume as established beyond reasonable doubt that Saipur and Pilka Pahar represent Sarabhanja's hermitage and the hill near Sutikshna's hermitage respectively, and Râma, in going from Saipur to Pilka Pahar near Bisrâmpore, necessarily crossed, as I can testify from personal knowledge, many rivers "full and fast," very fast-flowing indeed.

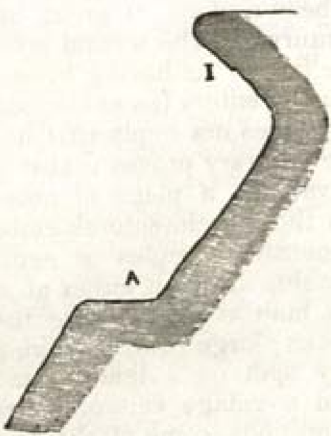
If, now, we remember that Râma came from Râmgarh to Saipur and went to Pilka Pahar near Bisrâmpore, and examine the routes by which he *could* have come and gone, we shall find it very easy to fix his route, for the country is so hilly that it is impossible to go to and from one place to another except by the one existing road. Râma could have got to Saipur from Chitrakuta only by one of two routes: first, along the left bank of the Reur to Jhilimilli, and thence by the road,—if road it can be called,—*viâ* Bank Ghât, Mara, and Kotar; or secondly, across to Lakhanpur and thence to Bisrâmpore and along the right bank of the river. The second route is inadmissible, because, by admitting it, Râma would firstly be made *perforce* to pass Sutikshna's hermitage *before* reaching Sarabhanja's; and, second, because in following Sarabhanja's directions subsequently, he would have been simply retracing his steps; in fact, he would not have needed anybody's directions as to going along a road he had already travelled; there remains, then, as the only possible

one, the first-mentioned route: admitting this, let us examine this carefully.

On this route the interesting places are first Chhita Likhni, a name given to a spot near Bank Ghât, where at one time a rock inscription existed; before passing on I had best describe it.

18.—CHHITA LIKHNI.

On the left side of the road going from Márá to Bank Ghât and close to Bank Ghât at a point where the road is very narrow with a fearful precipice to the right, and steep rocky slope, but of no great height, on the left, is the inscription known as Chhita Likhni. Over the summit of the steep rocky slope to the left projects a rock for a length of nearly 150 feet; the under-side of this rock is curved in section thus—



A being the road: along the whole of the sheltered curved face of the projecting rock at *I* run four lines of an inscription in shell characters. The writing was originally written with red colour on the yellowish-white surface of the rock, but the weather, notwithstanding the projection of the rock which partially screens it, has so acted on the colour that it has run together in places and got quite washed away in others; more especially has it been quite obliterated near the right hand end of the rock. The writing occupied nearly 100 feet in length of space; and was in four lines. At present the writing is perfectly illegible, ; isolated letters here and there; and even these, often smudged into a shapeless patch of red, are all that remain to show that it was once a large inscription. A few isolated letters which may be said to have escaped almost by a miracle at the extreme south end, prove that the writing occupied the entire face of the rock; tradition ascribes the writing to Sitâ while being carried off by Râvan.

It is a great pity that this long inscription has utterly disappeared beyond hope of decipherment, for there can be no doubt that a long inscription like this, set up at a point where

neither temple nor tirath exists, must have contained some important general edicts which the king wished to promulgate. I am of opinion it marked the extreme western boundary of King Sasângka's raj.

Reverting to the thread of my argument. The next place of note on this route is Márá, with its caves already described. The third place of note on this route are the group of caves, temple, and tirath near Kotar. I have not seen these, having heard of them when too far to retrace my steps; but I am told there are caves at Jaranudhi, Banauli, and Kotar, and a locally famous Mahadeo at Pouri, where a fair is held and many people gather together to worship the lingam, the fair lasting one day only. I have heard of no other objects of note on this route.

Chhita Likhni evidently could never have been a settlement of human beings, but of the two others one has certainly been a place of great importance from at least the fourth century and the second probably also. As I have before said, the fact of its having been certainly a place of note in the fourth century (as evidenced by its architectural remains) not only does not imply that it was non-existent before, but on the contrary proves that it must from a long time previously have been a place of note to have become the chosen spot for those architectural embellishments; people do not build expensive temples or excavate caves haphazard; places of worship are built either at spots hallowed by tradition or they are built at spots where they will have votaries, *viz.*, in large towns; large towns, again, are not established haphazard, at any spot on a line of road; towns are not made, but grow, and a village can only grow into a town if it fulfil certain conditions, some of the principal of which are that it be at a spot which from natural causes becomes an emporium of trade; or that it be at a spot which becomes the emporium of trade from artificial causes, as, for instance, Jhalrapatan, *vide* Tod, Vol. II, page 667; or that it be from natural position or artificial causes a place where mercantile depôts must be established; or that it be from natural position or artificial causes a place of political or military importance; or finally that it be a place which religious tradition hallows as sacred, and where accordingly priests and devotees gather in sufficient numbers and importance to force its growth into a town. Neither Márá nor Kotar possess any advantages, natural or artificial, in either a commercial or political light, and therefore they could only have grown into places of note through the last

cause, *viz.*, religious sanctity; and consequently, as Râma in his route to Saipur did, we know, come upon two spots, both of religious importance, and as these are the only two places of note on the route, I have the whole weight of probability in favour of my identification of these two places with Atri Muni's hermitage and with the nameless hermitage respectively. But as the nameless hermitage was within the territories of Dasaratha Raja, the limit of the Ajûdhya raj is thus seen to have been some point between Márá and Kotar. The hermits of Sarabhanja's hermitage told Râma that hermits' corpses lie on the banks of the Mandâkini and the Pampa Rivers. It would be absurd to imagine that by Pampa these people meant the distant Godavari: we must therefore look for a Pampa close to the Mandâkini, and probably within the Ajûdhya raj. I see there is a river named the Râmpa midway between Márá and Kotar, and, remembering that the limits of Ajûdhya raj must have been somewhere near, I am inclined to consider Râmpa as the boundary of the Ajûdhya raj, and as the equivalent of the Pampa of the Râmâyana just alluded to; indeed, I am not quite sure that Pampa is not a mistake for Râmpa, or Râmpa for Pampa. Unfortunately, while near the spot this identification did not occur to me, or I would have assured myself whether the Râmpa of our maps is not a mistake for the Pampa. We have now identified Atri's hermitage, the nameless hermitage, Sarabhanja's hermitage, and Sutikshna's hermitage. Before proceeding further, I had better describe Bisrâmpur, which, lying close to Pilka Pahar, I have identified with Sutikshna's hermitage.

Bisrâmpore is a long, straggling village, the residence of the Raja of Sirguja; it contains a few modern temples and a garh—this last being nothing more than the Raja's palace, which is surrounded by a moat. I saw no remains of antiquity in the place; but there is in the heart of the city a small temple, not very old, overshadowed by a magnificent pipal tree, which is the object of universal respect here. I was told that it stands on the site of the original mud temple of a Muni; but I did not note the Muni's name, and I am now sorry I dismissed the tale as an idle legend and did not note the name. The place is surrounded on the north, west, and east by extensive groves of mango, and the approaching traveller sees nothing of the village till he is actually within it. The place is named in our old maps Sirgujanagar, but the people know nothing of this name; it is known to them as Bisrâmpur, and

I see the new maps have altered the name to Bisrâmpur. Tradition says, that the place is called Bisrâmpur because Râm lived here a long time; it was Râma's resting-place. Turning now to the Râmâyana, Bk. III, Canto. XI, Râma goes from Sutikshna's hermitage to Panchapsaras, and having been—

"There with honour entertained
By all the Saints, awhile remained:
In time, by due succession led,
Each votary's cot he visited;
And then the lord of martial lore
Returned where he lodged before.
Here for ten months content he stayed;
There for a year he visited."

* * * *

"Among these holy devotees,
In days untroubled o'er his head,
Ten circling years of pleasure fled;"

and having visited the various hermit settlements round about, and sometimes a year; sometimes three, five, six, eight months, sometimes "weeks, fortnights, more or less," he

"With his dame retraced the road
To good Sutikshna's calm abode."

We see from this canto that for ten years Râma stayed in the vicinity of Sutikshna's hermitage, going out to visit the various hermitages round about, and again returning to Sutikshna's fair abode. Sutikshna's hermitage accordingly is fairly entitled to the name of Bisrâmpur in reference to these ten years of Râma's exile. The legend thus confirms my identification.

Having now identified Bisrâmpur as the hermitage of Sutikshna Rishi, let us follow Râma. He starts from Bisrâmpur and goes on, till at sundown he reaches a large "stream-fed lake," described as 2 leagues wide. Reference to the maps will show that there is no stream-fed lake, large or small, within a day's journey from Bisrâmpur, and we might be tempted to give up all hope of identifying Panchapsaras; but this very circumstance, which seems to render our search hopeless, actually fixes the spot with almost rigid certainty. I marched from Bisrâmpur towards Rab Kop, marked on our old maps as Udipur, and correctly as Rab Kop on the new maps (which had not then been published, and which even now are only in outline). The first day I halted near Kapu it came on to rain, and I was forced to halt; the next day it rained again, I was compelled to halt there that day; while

there, I heard of several ruins a few miles further on. On examination these turned out to be small temples in the Barakar type, *viz.*, single-cell temples: they lie scattered in five different spots. One group lies 4 miles to the north-west of Kapu, near Banjamba village: here are the ruins of some old single-cell temples and numerous Sati pillars.

One group lies 4 miles south of Kapu, in a deserted village; and the temple which still stands is said to be sacred to Mátá Dei: it is of no special interest. A temple stands near Pondi Kelo in fair preservation, but of no special interest. A heap of stone not cut, but rough stone evidently heaped by men at a rocky spot, about 3 miles south-west from Kapu on the road to Rab Kop, is sacred to Jota Dei: it is close to Bandhanpur. Kapu itself is so named after Kapu Dokri, the eldest of the sisters; though no temples are now to be seen in the village.

These five groups, or sacred places, are said to have been the residences of five sisters,—Kapu Dokri, eldest; 2nd, Jata D ; 3rd, Dehri Dokri; one named Mota Dei, but whether she is 4th or 5th I could not ascertain; and one whose name I could not get. These five sisters are said to have been five Devis, and they are worshipped to this day.

Starting from Kapu the next day late, and making slow progress on account of the slippery nature of the wet ground, I arrived about 1 P.M. at a place which seemed to me at once to have once been the bed of an extensive lake: it was no small lake, for there rose up from the bed of this lake several isolated small hills. I was nearly an hour traversing what I thought to be the bed of an ancient lake, and arrived at a stream but little below the level of the ground I had just been traversing. The ground was covered with dense, thick, coarse grass, such as may any day be seen in Lower Bengal and in several parts of the eastern end of the Central Provinces and Katak, in flat low-lying lands, especially in Bengal, in partially filled up railway cuttings. At the time I traversed the country, maps of it had not been published; nor did I think it then necessary to take a special note of what appeared to me to have no possible connection with archæology; but on reference to the outline map which has been published, I see that on the road which passes from Bandhanpur between two rivulets, to Bakalo (and thence along the Kairja River to Rab Kop), there is not a single village. I certainly crossed the Kairja four times, and the road on the map does the same: I have therefore no doubt the road is correctly represented,

and consequently the country between Bandhanpur and Bakalo at least must once have been a lake.

It will, doubtless, be objected that this could not have been a lake because the river would have drained it at once; but this is exactly what the river would not have done, for the simple reason that the river then flowed at a much higher level; and the proof of it is to be found at Iml Tikra, about 4 miles west of Rab Kop, where there are some old fragments enshrined in a hut, and which is said to have been the hermitage of Agastya or some other Rishi. (I again was guilty of not recording the Muni's name, but I had no idea I would feel the want of it so keenly as I do.) The thatched hut, which is called temple, stands on a high eminence, and below it flows the river—the Terhiman on one side, and the Kairja on the other; each of the rivers has cut down a channel for itself through the rock which stands absolutely vertical in huge ramparts over 200 feet high on either side, and presents an appearance of grandeur and loveliness which once seen can never be effaced from memory. So close is the resemblance to the walls of a huge fortress that at various spots where the river's turnings have left roundish or semi-circular projections, these also, standing up absolutely unbroken and vertical, look exactly like the round towers attached to the walls of ancient fortresses; the river, of a deep emerald colour, flows tranquil between the solid walls; the river, shallow everywhere else, is here very deep. I did not venture in on account of crocodiles; how crocodiles could have got into this pool, I am at a loss to discover.

The rock through which the river has cut its way is a soft dark-red sandstone.

It must be evident now that two thousand years ago the river must have been running at a much higher level through the gap, which then would not have been so deep; and if we knew the rate at which the river has been cutting through its rocky bed, we could point out the exact level of its waters at any given epoch. Although, however, this cannot be done, it is evident that when the bed of the river here was higher than it now is, the level of the water surface must also have been higher to a distance proportioned to the height. According to laws which it would be out of place here to try and determine—as the point where the river would have issued out of the lake I have supposed is only 12 miles from Imli Tikra—it is evident that when the bed of

the river at Imli Tikra was only 20 feet higher than it is at present; the country I have supposed to have been the bed of a lake, would have been a real lake even in the dry season (it is a lake in the rains at this day), so that there can be no doubt that at one period the place was an actual lake and stream-fed too, in fact literally corresponding to the description in the Râmâyana.

Although we do not know the rate at which the river has been cutting down into the rock, we have yet, I believe, means of ascertaining with some approximation the date when it had not quite dried up; this is from the age of the temples noticed before near and about Kapu. As the age of these temples cannot, in my estimation, be older than the tenth century, I think it may safely be assumed that as late as the tenth century the country was still a lake; and, judging from the appearance of the ground at the lowest parts, I would feel inclined to say that some remains of the lake existed even so late as the last century; and this supposition is borne out by the absence of villages in the space indicated.

Here, then, we have a large stream-fed lake, and on its northern or north-eastern margin, *i.e.*, the very end one first reaches starting from Bisrâmpur, are five groups of temples, or sacred places, dedicated to five *female* deities. Can there be need of any further evidence to identify it with the Panchapsaras of the Râmâyana, so called, the Râmâyana expressly tells us, after five Apsarases, who were supposed to have been dwelling there, sent by Brahma to beguile Manda Karni Rishi? As might be expected, the five Apsarases have become five female divinities, and the lake has in an unexpected way ceased to be a lake any longer.

The temple of Udipur or Rab Kop is at Imli Tikra. As already noticed, it is of wattle and daub thatched over, and enshrines a statue of Devi Mahesasuri; there are outside the temple several fragments of statues, a few Sati pillars, and a couple of charanas, or footprints, of Vishnu. The ascent to the eminence is through one of the grandest natural avenues I have ever seen; clumps of tall, straight bamboo, planted at regular intervals on either side for a long distance, meet overhead at a great height; the infinite number and variety of graceful curves and intersections thus formed is unparalleled anywhere within my knowledge. The old Rab Kop or Juna Garh is not a regular built fort, but is a spot of ground near the Imli Tikra with scarped rocky sides; it is avowedly admitted to have had only mud walls originally.

After I had left Rab Kop, I heard of a baradari, or palace, 2 miles off, known as the Nawa Garh; the baradari is described as a building of stone and mortar with twelve openings, and I have no doubt it is a comparatively very recent structure. I note here that there appears to me to have been an ancient lake near Pidikelo, about 8 miles north-east of Kapu.

It would be beyond my limits to speculate on the route of Râma from Sutikshna's hermitage to Agastya's, and thence to Panchavati and the Godavari, &c.; and as the Râmâyan gives no particulars of the other various hermitages round Bisrâmpur, besides the Panchapsaras visited by Râma, it would be idle to attempt to identify them. I will therefore now proceed simply to describe other places of interest near Bisrâmpur visited by me.

A few miles, about 8, south-west of Bisrâmpur, is Lakhanpur, a large village and the head-quarters of the chief; there are in the vicinity and within the city several tanks, one of which is said to mark the site of a hermit's tapasya, and the place where the five Pandus offered sacrifices; there are numerous fragments of sculpture in the village, some lying loose, others enshrined in temples, and others again preparing to be immured in the walls of the Raja's new palace in course of construction. It is said that most of the fragments and a great deal of squared stone have been brought from the temple on the banks of the Reur, known as the Chhirka Duval, described by Colonel Ouseley, and which has in consequence been so completely dismantled that a servant of mine sent to see the place described it as a small mound of rubbish, with a wattle and daub thatched hut as shelter for the statues which are there, and still worshipped. A number of fragments and plenty of squared stone were also brought from Ramgarh Hill, and after leaving the place and arriving near Pali, I was told that the chief of Lakhanpur had carried away and secreted (in hopes of being able to read and discover hidden treasure) one of two inscribed slabs which had been turned up recently in the ruins of the temple at Pali. There is nothing in Lakhanpur that I saw to show that any of the ancient remains there now to be found originally belonged to the place; on the contrary they all appear to have been brought from other places; still the existence of tanks, undoubtedly ancient, shows that the place was one of some importance in ancient times, and it may be that some of the fragments now in the village are from the ruins of temples that once stood in the village. I may mention in passing

that of the two inscriptions said to have been turned up at Pali I have not been able to see one; the one said to have been carried off and secured by the Lakhanpur chief I of course did not expect to see; but even of the other, notwithstanding liberal promise of reward, I was unable to get either a copy or even any tidings. My information was derived from one Bisseswar Dubi of the Bilâspur police force, who says he saw one of the inscriptions on a black telia stone with his own eyes, and was sent to investigate the alleged theft of the other.

A hill named Lakhandih, close to Râmgarh, is said to have been the residence of Lachman when Râma and Sitâ lived in Ramgarh, and Bamandih, close to it, is said to have been a Brahmanical hermitage; in neither of these places, however, are any remains to be found.

About 20 miles direct north-east of Partabpur, or 27 miles by road up in the hills near the sources of the Bisar nala, is the old hill fort Joba. There is nothing remarkable about the fort, except a few Sati pillars and a ruined temple; the ruins of the temple are neither extensive nor remarkable; in fact but little of the ruins remain at present; it appears to have been Saivic: the "Kot" is nothing more than the inclosure round the temple. I was greatly disappointed here at not finding anything interesting. The temple appears to have been Saivic, and there were among others the figure of Devi Mahesasuri. At the foot of the hill are the remains of three or four small temples, apparently all Saivic; they were very small, and little of them now remains except a few cut stones, some fragments of figures, a number of lingams and figures of Devi Mahesasuri; they appear to have been built of plain cut-stone without sculpture or other ornament. A few miles to the west of Joba is Mánpur, containing nothing except a couple of chaubutras and some Sati pillars of no interest.

Fifteen miles, or 20 by road, east of Joba is a hot-spring known as Tatápâni—an evident corruption of Taptapâni, "hot water." Here are numerous fragments of statues, among which are to be found Surya or Aditya, and also the Vaishnavic Varâha, as well as Saivic fragments; the sculpture is rude and coarse; but as figures of Aditya are very rare[1] in late epochs,

[1] See Vol. XVII, *Journal Asiatic Society*, Ouseley's paper. There was an inscribed stone at Mahaoli, 8½ miles north-west of Joba, dated 1296, which was carried to Ranchi; it appears to have been only a Sati pillar.

I am inclined, on the evidence of the figure of Aditya, to ascribe to the original temple an antiquity of a thousand years. Varâhas, too, become rare after the tenth century, and the figure of Varâha supports my conjecture; but there can be no doubt that both the temple now standing and its immediate predecessor belong to very late dates; the one now standing is not a century old yet by any means.

It is difficult to judge of the age of sculpture that have been exposed for several hundred years to sulphurous fumes; but making allowances for this extraordinary cause of deterioration, the sculptures appear to have been of very fair execution.

There appear to have been at first two temples a few feet removed from the existing one, each on a small raised platform, and of these one appears to have been profusedly ornamented externally with rows of statues.

The ground is a stiff clay through which meanders a small sluggish stream; in the bed of this stream at numerous spots, and also round about it, are little craters, whence bubbles of sulphurous gas and hot water constantly bubble up; the waters are good for skin diseases, but the temperature is far too high for the human body to bear. Pilgrims visit the place occasionally, as I saw the names of numerous pilgrims covering the walls of the existing temple; but at the time of my visit the place was entirely deserted, not even a pujari being present. In the centre of the cell of the existing temple is a square masonry reservoir, doubtless meant once to contain the hot water, and probably built over one of the springs; but at the time of my visit it was choked and dry.

Not far from these springs is the hill Râmchaunra, so named, I was told, from a chaubutra ascribed to Râma. Knowing that Râma wandered all round Bisrâmpur for ten years, there is nothing improbable in Râma having visited the place; but there is not a tittle of evidence of any kind beyond tradition to connect the rude stone chaubutra with Râma.

Five miles west of Tatapâni is the small village of Pepraul, at the foot of a low range of hills. Here, near the foot of the hills, is a small piece of water retained by an embankment known as "Sagar," and near it is a natural spring known as "Turra" issuing from the rock. Close to it is a small temple of the single-cell type, without even an apology for a portico in front, as the temples at Barâkar have. The temple is Vaishnavi, Lakshmi being sculptured over the entrance. On the sides

of the temple all round externally are sculptures representing various divinities; among them, a female under a sâl tree, holding on to one of the branches. The sâl tree is well rendered, and I think there can be no doubt that it represents Maya Devi. All the carvings and mouldings are shallow, the design poor, and the execution rude. Although the lower part of the temple is thus adorned with sculpture in profusion, the upper part, or the tower proper above the cornice, is perfectly plain.

The sanctum is internally roofed in the style of intersecting squares, the central slab being adorned with a boss. The space, therefore, between this roof and the real tower roof I infer, in conformity with other examples, to be hollow.

But the peculiarity of the temple is that although, from the size and finished appearance of the basement or platform on which the temple stands, it does not appear to have been intended to enlarge it in any direction, and there is no room for a portico, yet the two foremost pilasters—which, in the case of the temple having additions to it in front, would be the exact places where such addition would appropriately be joined on to the existing sanctum—are left with their front surfaces rough, as though intended to have been hidden by the joining on of a portico or other addition in front.

Besides this temple, there once existed here a small Saivic temple, of which the ruins and the lingam lie neglected at a short distance, enveloped in the roots of a mahua and a bêl-tree, which appear to have sprung from the very centre of the sanctum, the lingam now being imbedded between the trunks of the two trees.

I am aware of no other remains of antiquarian interest in Sirguja, but before taking leave of it I must not forget to insert the common native saying about it—

> "Mat maro, mat mahur khao;
> "Chale chalo, Sirguja jao;"

which may be translated—" Don't die (violently), don't take poison; (if you want to die easily) go to Sirguja;" and which characterises tersely the intense unhealthiness of the district. The cause of this appears to be the water; throughout the fertile portion of Sirguja, water is obtained by digging wells in the fields. These fields are in most cases villages *enclosed* on all sides by high ground and imperfectly drained by nalas; on digging a well water is found so close to the surface that in January or February

I have seen the village women filling their water-pots by simply dipping them in with the hand, no rope being necessary, and in many cases the water actually overflows; it has an earthy taste and a milky colour, which does not disappear by simply being left at rest for any reasonable time. The country, however, where fit for cultivation, is extremely fertile, and for the lover of beauty the country has rare charms in the gentle undulations of the fertile tracts and the rugged and richly coloured beauty of the hill tracts. Neither I nor any one in my camp fell ill for a single day during the two seasons of my march through it; but I took care not to use myself, nor allow to be used by my camp, the well water, unless it were first boiled, for drinking purposes. I cannot speak too highly of the natural beauties of the hill tracts; the swift clear streams leaping in cascades and lying in still, deep pools, of every rich colour from bright emerald green to deep dark reddish-brown, fringed by a vegetation so rich, so green, and in such charming contrast to the dark black and bright red hues of the weather-beaten rock and freshly exposed earth; the murmur of the streams; the songs of birds; the herds of deer; the more distant hills of a soft blue; and the nearer rocks, rugged and tinted with bold dashes of red and yellow and black, make up a charming whole rarely surpassed. The exquisite descriptions of the Râmâyana are literally true—all except the "hermits' coats of bark" and their belongings.

This is, perhaps, the best place to notice other remains within the Rânchi or South-west Frontier Agency of Bengal; and the following is a list of the places which I have either seen or heard of as containing remains of archæological interest:—

In the Sirguja District—

† Dipadi, at the junction of the Kanhar and the Galphula Rivers.

In the Palâmau District—

† Palâmau itself.

Deogun, about 40 miles north of Palâmau, near the road to Aurungabad.

† Japla, near the Son.

Loharsi, near the source of the Amanat Nadi.

Barasand, near the junction of the Koel and the Burhi Rivers.

In the Jashpur District—

Koukelnagar (Kinkel in the new Indian atlas sheet), near the sources of the Baljor and Kesjor tributaries of the Ib Rver.

Kala Ghag, at the junction of the Krer and Bundo Rivers, a waterfall and Ram Tirash.

In the Gangpur District—

An old garh near the junction of the Ib and the Ulanga Rivers.

Deogaon, on the Brâhmani River, a little below the junction of the Sankh and the Koel Rivers.

In the Chutia Nagpore District—

Karongghag, a waterfall on the Palamunda River.

† Paraghag, a waterfall above the junction of the Kharo and the Bonai Rivers.

Ghagra, near Gola, on the Subanrekha River.

Burwa, on the Sankh River.

Raidih, near the Sankh River, and the sources of the Palamunda River.

† Buradih, on the Kanchi River.

† Chokahatu, near Buradih.

In the Singhbhum District—

† Benu Sogar, near the Koirobondono River and Korna.

† Kesnagarh, near the junction of the Barukati and the Konjera Rivers.

† Salgarh, near the source of the Terlo Nadi, a tributary of the Khorkai.

Deoli, near Ghatsila, in Dhalbhum.

Gulka, on the road and near Chaibasa.

Porahat, 25 miles west of Chaibasa, in Manbhum.

In Manbhum—

* Puralya itself.

* Deoltand, near the Karkari River.

* Ichagarh, on the Karkari River.

* Dulmi, near the Subernarekha River.

* Sufaran, on the Subernarekha River.

* Suissa, on the Subernarekha River.

* Deoli, near Suissa.

* Dalmi, on the west bank of Subernarekha.

* Jamdi, near Sonahatu, on the Kanchi.

* Burhadi, near Jamdi.

* Badla, near Jamdi.

* Chachalu Hill.
* Gondua, near Dalma Hill, and on the Subernarekha River.
* Sarangarh, on the Kumari River, near Ambikanagar.
* Barhabazar.
* Manbazar, near the Kasai River.
* Pakbirra, near Pancha.
* Buddhpur, on the Kasai River.
* Bangaon, on the Kasai River.
* Poncha, on the Kasai River.
* Sugnibasa, near Poncha.
* Kharkiagarh, near Poncha.
* Kesargarh, near the Kasai.
* Balrampur, on the Kasai.
* Buram, on the Kasai.
* Ansa Karandi, near Rangamati, on the Kasai.
* Jhaldia.
* Chechgaongarh, on the Damuda, near Bilouja.
* Bhatbinor.
* Bilouja, near the Damuda River.
* Tugri, near Bilouja.
* Alwara, near Bilouja.
* Dumra.
* Katras.
* Jharia Garh.
* Pandra, near Nirsa, on the G. T. Road.
* Telcuppi, on the Damuda.
* Banda, near Chailiama and Telcuppi.
* Para, near Jhapra.
* Chorra near Puraliya.
* Parasbani, near the Telabemi Hill.
* Khelai Chandi Hills.

Beru, near Raghunathpur.

* Pachet, or Panjkot.

In the Hazaribaugh District—

Kulhna Hill, near the Lilajan, where it finally issues from the Hill Tracts.

Chatra.

Mahudi Hill, a G. T. station between the Barakar and the Mohana Rivers, about 20 miles north-west of Hazaribagh.

Bhadli Bádam, 20 miles south of Hazaribagh, near the road to Ranchi and near the foot of the pass.

Bishungarh, on the road from Hazaribagh to Karharbali.
Lugu Hill, on the Bakahro River.
Jageswar, near Lugu Hill.
Bargaon, near Jageswar.
Gola, on the Damuda.
Ratanpur, 16 miles north of Kodarma.
Dumduma, on the Sukri River.
Mahabar Hill, near Sathgaon.
Banresar Hill, near to and north of the Sukri River.
Madhuban, at foot of the Parasnath Hill.
† The Parasnath Hill itself.
Palganjo.
Ramgarh, on the Damuda River.

Of these, those marked with an asterisk have been noticed in my report for 1872—73; but though all have been noticed some have not been visited by me, the notices of them being from hearsay, and accordingly I would wish to visit them; they are Deoltand, Ichâgarh, Jamdi, Burhadi, Badla, Chachalu Hill, Manbazar, Barhabazar, Dumra, Jharia Garh, and Biru.

Of the others in the list, the following have been noticed by various writers in the Journals of the Asiatic Society. Most of the information is to be found in the papers by Major Ouseley and Colonel Tickell, though, I regret to say, they are not always reliable. Very useful and interesting information about some of them are to be found in papers by Colonel Dalton and Mr. Ball in the *Journal Asiatic Society* and in the *Indian Antiquary*, and in Fergusson's and Dr. Buchanan's works; and the information is perfectly reliable in every particular. Of those thus noticed by them and marked † in the list I have visited Benu Sagar, Kesnagarh, and Lalgarh; all the others I have ascertained to contain antiquities by inquiries from various sources, chiefly from itinerant Banjaras and trades-people I met in my travels; but some also from information supplied to me by officers of the Revenue Survey and District Officers, among which last I may mention Messrs. Wilson and Wilcox and Babu Bimala Churn Bhuttachârjee.

19.—BENU SÂGAR.

Benu Sâgar is the name of a tank, by no means either very large or deep, a little way off the road from Kichang (near the junction of the Koirobondhono and Kontakaro Rivers) to Kesnagarh. The tank is now full of weeds and long grass. There is an island in the tank overgrown with jangal, and I

have no doubt it contains remains of the ancient grandeur of the place; but the tank is so choked with water-plants that it would be impossible to swim to it, and there are no canoes or means of obtaining any substitute or means of getting across in the neighbouring villages. To the south of the tank is the present village of Benu Sâgar; near the south-east corner of the tank embankment there are numerous old remains consisting of the ruins of at least ten temples: not a single temple is, however, now standing, even partially—not a wall, all have become reduced to low mounds—whence, with a little digging, I succeeded in getting entire bricks of two different sorts, measuring respectively 9 inches by 7 inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and 11 inches by 9 inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From this I infer that the temples there were either built at two different periods, or more probably originally built of the larger bricks, and subsequently repaired with the smaller. This view of the case is the more probable as we have reason to believe that Raja Mâṇ Singh did repair temples in various parts of Mânbhum, and the smaller bricks were in use in his time, while the larger bricks were in use long before his time. The age of the temples that originally stood here is not easy to ascertain, as, except some sculpture, no remains exist to enable us to form a judgment—not even traditions; but, remembering that tradition ascribes the ruins of Kichang to a Sáusânkh Raja—evidently the Sasângka, well known as a zealous Brahmanist—and that the sculpture here is similar in every respect to those at Kichang, both in design and in execution, and far superior to the productions of the ninth and tenth centuries, I would ascribe these temples to the seventh century of our era.

The sculptures that exist are entirely Brahmanical with two exceptions; the exceptions are, a small naked figure, which, from its evident resemblance to Jaina figures, I take to be Jain; and a seated figure, with the hands in the attitude of teaching, resembling figures of Buddha, and, like many of them, with his head covered with little curls. That this figure is Buddhist, its general resemblance to figures of Buddha in Magadha leads me to believe, still there is nothing impossible in its being Jaina. With these two exceptions, all the figures are Brahmanical, and almost exclusively Saivic, Ganeça, Kali Mahesasuri Devi, &c., fragments of these being frequent. A remarkable piece of sculpture, of curious and excellent execution and very spirited design, represents the forepart of an elephant elaborately ornamented; the elephant is kneeling,

and evidently formed either a pedestal of a figure or projected from the plinth near the entrance of some one of the numerous temples, in a manner similar to the projecting figures of elephants in other parts of India. The excellence of execution and design of this piece of sculpture entitles it to a place in any museum. The stones used have been of two kinds,—a laterite evidently used for walls and floors and plain work, and doubtless once covered with plaster; and a sandstone, unfortunately not very hard, of which architraves and other sculptured stone work were executed.

Possibly, if I could have conversed familiarly with the village people, I may have got some traditions regarding the place. Colonel Tickell mentions some; but the language they spoke—the Kol—was next to unintelligible to me; and finding nothing could be done in the way of excavations from want of labour, the Kol inhabitants of the surrounding villages, though very obliging in the matter of furnishing me voluntarily, and quite unasked, with guides to take me on to the next village, appeared decidedly averse to doing any digging there: it is probable the villagers furnished me with guides so very readily and voluntarily, rather with a view to get rid of me as quick as possible, than from any special feelings of kindness they entertained. I found the villagers very cheerful, not at all shy or timid, and exceedingly inquisitive, regularly besieging my camp till after dark, men, women, and children all having but one object, to see the—to them extraordinary—habits of living of the stranger and of his equally extraordinary beasts of burden, camels being absolutely unknown there, and the oldest men professing never to have seen one.

20.—KESNAGARH.

Kesnagarh is at present a large, dirty, straggling village, inhabited by various tribes and not by Kols exclusively. I found the people extremely disinclined to give any information. To the west of and touching the village is the old fort of Kesnagarh. A little digging was done by my private servants, it being impossible to get labour in the village (my servants being threatened with violence for attempting to procure labour even at exorbitant rates), but nothing of interest turned up; there was not one fragment of sculpture in the fort and no bricks or cut-stone visible anywhere.

21.—LALGARH.

Lalgarh also turned out to be a very uninteresting place for the archæologist. Dipadi, in the Sirguja District, is said to contain numerous temples, but I have heard of no inscriptions.

Palâmau is an old place, as old as Kohtasgarh, judging from the couplet—

" Unché garh Palámau,
" Niché Kuhidas,
" Soné ki chhatr Bilouja."

BHIMCHULA.

Deogun is said to contain figures and temples. Japla has been noticed by Buchanan; I heard of nothing especially interesting in it. Ten miles south-west of it are three large boulders. On the banks of the Koel are a number of rude boulders, of which three stand inclosing a triangular space, and are known as Bhimchula, Barasand, and Loharsi, said to be old places; but I do not know that they contain temples or inscriptions. Konkelnagar is said to contain temples and figures.

Deogaon and the old garh on the Ib River are said to contain many ruins. Paraghag and Karangghag are said to contain temples and figures and to be tiraths; so also is Ghagra and Kalaghag. Burwa is said to be an old place and to have old remains; as also Raidih. Buradih and Deoli possess temples; also Porahat.

22.—GULKA.

At Gulka, which has been visited by me, are several Sati pillars, and near it a villager discovered an earthen pot (which I did not see, but which was described to me as similar to the Nalanda pots without the enamelling) full of copper coin. All my attempts, aided by the Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum, could not procure more than I believe one coin; but this was apparently Indo-Scythian. There are some modern ruins also near Gulka. The earthenware pot of which I saw fragments was of red clay well burnt, but of coarse make and thick.

Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among others, several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, &c., in most beautiful preservation, were found near Bâmanghati. Mrs. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner's wife,

at Singhbhum, possesses several very fine ones indeed, made into a bracelet, but in such a manner as to leave the coins absolutely uninjured. I tried in vain to procure some, but failed, except the choice ones (choice as to excellence of preservation) picked out and secured by the Deputy Commissioner; the rest got dispersed, and it is now hopeless to try and find out where they are, if they indeed exist at all and have not been melted. The finding of these coins at Bâmanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the seaport Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in *viâ* Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire. A road from Tamluk to Barahat would pass through Bâmanghati, Porahat, Konkelnagar, Barampur—all said to be ancient places of note; further, the road from Ratanpur and Rájam would also naturally pass through Bâmanghati or Bâmanhati, and on through or near Kichong, which last I have seen, and the remains of interest in which I will notice further on.

23.—PARASNATH.

Kulhna, Mahudi, Lugu, and Bhanresar Hills, in the Hazaribagh district, are said to possess inscriptions. Parasnath is well known as a great Jaina place of pilgrimage, but though I visited it and also Madhuban many years ago, I have not sufficient confidence in my memory to venture to describe the objects of interest there from memory alone. Madhuban, as far as I can remember, did contain numerous sculptured stones of an ancient period.

BISHUNGARH.

Bishungarh contains very many temples, but I am not very sanguine about its being a place of ancient note, as one of my measurers whom I sent there brought me back but one inscription, and that a modern one dated in Samvat 1823. As, however, Bishungarh does not, or rather a few years ago did not, lie on any great modern line of road, while it does lie on the old road from Damdama on the Sakri (in the old Chedi country) to Ramgarh, it is not unlikely that there may be old remains there, though there are no old inscriptions, at least above ground. Gola, Râmgarh, and Bhadlibadam are said to possess both temples and inscriptions. Mahabar Hill, Jageswar, Bargaon, and Ratanpur are reputed to have old temples and figures.

24.—DAMDAMA.

Damdama contains several mounds, yielding large 18-inch bricks. There are also several temples, and I have succeeded in procuring one inscription from the neglected Argha lying in front of an old but recently-repaired brick temple, which is certainly old; it reads Aum Samvat 13, Sri Deva Pala Deva.[1]

KICHANG.

Kichang is a large village near the junction of the Kairabandhana and Kantakara Rivers; the ruins are situated all round it, but chiefly at the eastern end, just outside the village; the remains on the west and south are mere heaps of cut stone and brick. In a ruin to the west are four stone pillars of a large and curious shape; the forms of the pillars, especially at the base, remind us of the pillars in the Barahut sculptures, and though the mouldings of double curvature that occur prove that they belong to a much later period, still it is curious to trace the modifications which the bases of pillars underwent from the Persepolitan forms of the Barahut bas—reliefs to these in a remote and little known province. The capitals too are clear derivatives from the bell capital of Asoka; there is not, indeed, the swell, nor the fillets; these have disappeared into a plain form: but the hand at the mouth of the bell is represented here by the plain hand at the bottom of the bell. True, these pillars are square-sided at the top and bottom, but nevertheless the curved outline at the top cannot but be considered one of the numerous modifications directly derived from the bell form; the shaft is sixteen-sided. There are, besides these tall pillars, others of precisely the same form, but dwarf, showing that the temple which they adorned had a Mahamandapa of such size that four central pillars were needed, besides the dwarf pillars all round, to support the roof. The projecting tongues at the top and base, coupled with the evidence of the form of the temple derived from the existence of dwarf pillars, take the temples out of the more ancient epochs of Indian art to comparatively recent times; and I am inclined, from

See plate.

[1] General Cunningham reads it Aum Samvat 15, Sri Deva Pala Deva Padudhyata Rajye * * * Dhadika grama Vardhhabhiya to suit Rishi, see volume III, page 134, Archæological Reports for date of Sri Deva Pala Deva, which is at the end of the ninth century.

the resemblance of the peculiar feature of the projecting tongues to similar ones in the dargah at Triveni in Hugli, to attribute the temple to the same period, *viz.*, to Raja Mukund Deva's time or thereabouts.

Not far from it is another small mound similar to the last; the pedestals of two figures still exist among the ruins, and therefore the mound represents the ruins of two small temples. These, from the absence of any Saivic symbol near and the existence of pedestals for figures, I suppose to have been Vaishnavic, for Saivic temples generally have only the lingam and Argha, and no sculptured figures on pedestals in the sanctums of temples of such a late date.

Half a mile to the south-east of these is a mound, the ruins of several temples of stone and of brick—the latter Saivic; the bricks measure 12 inches by 9 inches by 3 inches. I traced three different temples, one of laterite, one of brick with stone door frames, and one of plain cut stone. The whole of these temples were quite plain, as there is not a single sculptured stone on the mound.

Half a mile to the east by a little south of the village is a stone temple, not quite prostrate; it is small, single-celled, and in the Barakar style; it has a sculptured door frame for the sanctum: the temple is Saivic.

But the great group near the village is the one of greatest interest and antiquity. One of the temples here faces south-east; is Saivic, enshrining his emblem; it is in the Barakar style; but the lower part of the tower is sculptured, while the upper part is quite plain, showing that at some period subsequent to its erection it had been repaired. For reasons detailed in my report for season 1872–73, I ascribe the repairs to Rajah Man Singh's time. Another of the temples is an unfinished one: it is roofed in the overlapping octagonal style, a style from which I infer the date of its erection to have been the sixteenth century, or Raja Man Singh's time, and I have no doubt the builder of this was also the repairer of the last one. Raja Man Singh is the only prominent figure in the local history of the district to whom I can reasonably attribute its erection. From an examination of the upper part of this unfinished temple, it is clear that each course of stone as laid down was then and there cut and smoothed *in situ*, that is, after being placed in the position it occupies; the stones for the outer facing of the various courses were left somewhat larger than needed to allow of the final cutting and trimming *in situ*. I was, previous to

the examination of this temple, under the impression that the cutting and final smoothing of the exterior face of temples (and of their interiors, too, no doubt) was begun after the entire temple had been built up in rough; but I see now that it was not so, but each course was finished before proceeding to the next. Of course, all sculpture would be executed after the whole temple had been built, as we know from numerous examples of temples, notably at Amarkantak, where the *finished* temple, has had sculptural ornamentation for the exterior marked out by the chisel but not finished.

Close to the group are several other little mounds and statues; some of these have a certain resemblance to Buddhist sculpture, but nevertheless are Brahmanical: one in particular, a wheel (there is a fragment of another also), I took at first sight to be undoubtedly Buddhist, but examination showed me that it contained figures of the Navagraha ranged round the rim (see photograph). Most of the sculpture is broken; some are large life-size, others small, but the execution is excellent, and superior to a great deal of what I have seen elsewhere. I infer, therefore, from their excellence of execution and their mutilated condition, that they belonged to older temples, of which perhaps the repaired temple first noticed is the only existing modified specimen. I infer from the numbers of the figures, which can be divided into five groups, the existence at some remote period of at least five temples, of which two at least were Vaishnavic; the unfinished temple, judging from the figures which adorn the niches around its exterior, was also meant for a Vaishnavic deity. There are also many Saivic figures, among them one of life-size, most outrageously indecent, and which of course, as a natural consequence, absorbs the greater share of the wor ship and offerings of votaries, especially of the women. I was there during the *Holi*, and of course was not permitted to examine everything as I would have wished to. The Brahmans, however, were not rude, and assisted me as far, I have no doubt, as their religious scruples and a due consideration of the feelings of the gathered crowd permitted; but yet there were many things I would like to have examined a little more closely than I was allowed; chief of these was a great group of figures in a thatched hut which I was neither allowed to enter or peep into. Twenty goats were sacrificed, and I saw the blood quite fresh; they had evidently been sacrificed shortly before my arrival. Next day I went and did some photographing, but though not so great, there was

still enough crowd to have rendered it inexpedient for the ministering Brahmans to have afforded me greater facilities of observation.

From what I saw, I ascribe the remains here to three different periods, the finest and earliest to Sasângka, the temples to the west and south-east and south of the village to Raja Mukund Deo, who, I believe, introduced here the style of a Mahamandapa open all round and supported by dwarf pillars resting on benches, a style extremely common in the eastern half of the Central Provinces; and lastly, the work of Raja Mân Singh in the northern style of art of his period.

25.—UDAIPUR.

Udaipur, on the left bank of the Vaitarini River, is mentioned by Colonel Tickell, Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX, as containing ancient remains, but all my efforts to get any information about them while on the spot, or to find them after diligent search, proved vain; the old garh was indeed pointed out to me—a miserable, small, mud-wall enclosed place, which once contained the Raja's residence; within this enclosure, in a ruined garden at the foot of a guava tree, was a flat plain slab and a Sati pillar, and these are all the antiquities in Udaipur that my utmost efforts and search could discover. The people unanimously denied the existence of any temples, old or new, in or near the place, except thatched ones, which also I examined in hopes of finding sculpture, but in vain, and I left the place with the conviction that either Colonel Tickell's memory misled him, or that his information was obtained from unreliable sources.

26.—RAJNAGAR.

There are a few modern temples, but of no interest, in Rajnagar, on the right bank of the Vaitarini, a few miles above Udaipur, which deserve not even this passing mention.

JUANGS.

It would be a work of supererogation for me to attempt an ethnological account of the Juangs. Unacquainted with their language, and my stay being necessarily very brief, I could not possibly hope to add anything to what Colonel Dalton has already given us, and to his great work I accordingly refer. I have only to add that I saw no naked men or

women, and on inquiry I learnt that through Colonel Dalton's exertions and gratuitous distribution of clothing by him and other officials, they had for the last six or seven years given up the leaf clothing they used to put on; but it struck me as somewhat incongruous that these men were dressed much more decently than the women, and the reason assigned was that women are so seldom out in places of public resort that they do not need it.

27.—VAITARINI TIRATH AND KEONJHAR.

There are not many Juangs to be found in the city of Keonjhar, but to the west among the hills there are entire settlements of Juangs exclusively, who are very jealous of permitting strangers into their villages. Close to Keonjhar, at the foot of Gopath-ganga Hill, is a well-known tirath, the tirath of the Vaitarini. I had hoped to find ruins of some temples there, but all I could hear of was a mud hut, but which served as a temple situated near the waterfall where the Vaitarini tumbles down in a slender stream from the rock above; here on the side of the kund, or rather water-course, which is cut into the solid rock, is an inscription in rude large modern characters. I have unfortunately mislaid my copy of it, but duplicates were sent to General Cunningham, who will doubtless insert it, if of any interest, in a note.

The general characteristic of the portions of the Keonjhar district traversed by me were want of water and low *thorny* dry-looking jangal, not dense, not green, but sparse and dry; but though sparse, the nature of the jangal, consisting chiefly if not wholly of thorny shrubs and trees, with long flexible interlacing branches, interposes more effectual obstacles to travelling than dense, but less thorny, jangal would; the soil, too, is for the most part stony. I traversed the country from south to north, entering at the extreme south end and passing out of the extreme north-east end after making a detour for the purpose of visiting Keonjhar garh itself and its vicinity. In the city of Keonjhar and round it are numerous small temples, but they are all without exception modern; the city is large and flourishing, with numerous well-made roads, and is kept remarkably clean.

28.—DEGAON.

At the extreme north-east corner of the small State of Sokindah is the large village of Degaon. I arrived here

during a fair, and consequently saw it to most advantage. There are a number of small temples here, and the place is locally famous, one of the temples enshrining a famous lingam; but the temples are all modern, and the *mela* with its crowd was peculiarly unfavourable to my attempting an examination of them myself. My Hindu servants, however, undertook the examination, and from their reports I conclude that there is nothing of interest to the antiquary here. A list of the places of interest in the vicinity to the north of Katak may be useful :—

Jehajpur or Jajpur, described by Kittoe and others.

The temple of Gokarneswar, on the Brahmani River, has been described by Beames, Journal Asiatic Society for 1872. I have visited it also, and it appears neither old nor of any interest; the attendant Brahmans too were most uncivil.

Kopari, described by Beames, Journal Asiatic Society.

Bhanpur, Tanghy, Chatia, and Deogaon have been noticed by Kittoe, Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII. Chatia has also been noticed by Beames, Journal Asiatic Society for 1872, and as I was informed by the people that Degaon had been visited and drawings, &c., taken by Beames, I refrained from visiting it.[1]

Atgarh has been noticed by Kittoe, Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. V.

Of Katak itself I need say nothing. The place has been visited and described by so many competent people that it would be a work of supererogation in me to say anything, especially as I was there but a very short time.

The great work of Dr. Rajendra on Orissa, of which Vol. I has already appeared, renders it needless for me to enter into detailed accounts of most of the places of note in Orissa. I will only say a few words regarding the caves of Udayagiri and the remains at Dhaulī. I believe I have found a cave not seen by Dr. Rajendra's party.

29.—KHANDAGIRI.

There is a modern temple on the Khandagiri Hill and a

[1] There are some ruins near Govindpur in Dhen Kanah, also at Nayana, 2 miles east of Nadara, on the Brahmani, where is a temple of Nagnath and an inscribed lingam ; *vide* Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII.

large scattered group of votine chaityas, or small model temples, near it. Descending the hill opposite to or facing Hatikia village, about half way down, is a long natural niche, enlarged and internally smoothed and divided artificially into three caves and a sort of shallow resting-place; to the south of and touching the southernmost compartment is a long funnel-shaped cavern, at the end of which is a pool of water named the Akâs Gangâ; it dries up in May. Going round the hill now in the direction of the hands of a watch, or from left to right, until one arrives nearly north of the temple on the slope of the hill, are two unfinished caves side by side; they are covered with rough chisel marks, and they had evidently been abandoned before the excavation had proceeded far enough to entitle them to the names of caves or even to produce an appreciable niche; but the pillars and pilasters of the intended cave are traced out on the rock by spaces left projecting beyond the rest of the excavation.

On the level of what would have been the roof of these caves is a cave now closed by a built enclosure of dry cut stone; the verandah of this cave has its roof lower than the roofs of the chambers inside; a bench once ran round three sides of the verandah, but at present the floor has been raised to the level of the benches by cut stone laid loose on the original rock floor; the façade is very massive and plain, and comprises three pillars and two pilasters, each supporting a corbelled capital, not of a cruciform shape, but with one projection supporting the eave, which is deeply undercut; the projecting corbels are curved on their under-sides, and are hollowed out and adorned with grotesque figures; there is a modern inscription cut on the left hand jamb just outside the verandah, but the cave is old. In the back wall of the verandah are four doorways corresponding to the four openings of the façade; the doorways are plain square, but have projecting round doorheads sculptured, on either side of which a snake lifts up its hooded crest. The semicircular space within the pediment is sculptured; one represents a scene in which elephants figure—it is broken; the next represents a Chhatradhari king driven in a four-horse chariot; the third is the Buddhist figure corresponding to Lakshmi, holding two lotuses in her hands and a couple of elephants raising their trunks (intended to represent as pouring water no doubt) over her head; the next is a Bo tree within a sacred inclosure under a royal umbrella with attendants. The curve of the arch ring is also ornamented with

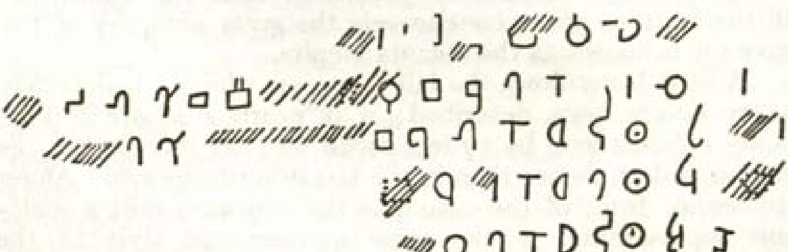
figures, but not scenes, and so also are the upper portions of the spandrils. Along the top, in the place of the frieze, runs a long line of the Buddhist railing, broken at the intervals of the haunches by what appears to be the conventional representation of a house or cave, the upper portion of the structure being precisely like the representations on the Barahut sculptures; over each doorway is a Buddhist symbol, each differing from the others. In the centre of the wall inside near the top is a Buddhist symbol flanked by Bo trees; these again flanked by a different symbol, and finally by the Swastika; there was originally an inscription which has subsequently been apparently deliberately cut away. I reproduce so much of it as remains—

The characters are decidedly later than Asoka, but from the form of the *n*, as well as of the *l*, *t* and *p*, I would assign it to about the second or third century, A.D. The capitals of the pillars are bell-shaped, and the bases are of the curious Persepolitan style of the small pillars between the Toran beams of the Bharhat gateway; four-horse capitals support the projecting semicircular pediments over the doorways; all the features prove conclusively the great antiquity of the cave; it is known as the Ananta Gopha.

A little lower down the hill is a cave which I believe has never before been described; it is nearly a square in plan, being 17½ feet long by 17 feet broad, and has three entrances similar to but plainer than in the last described cave. Along the entire front of the cave over the doorways runs a sculpture representing, in the same conventional style as the Bharhat sculptures, a long ridge of roof ornamented with a line of painted spikes; the precise similarity of this to the Bharhat sculpture must strike every attentive visitor. Below this roof line is the inevitable Buddhist railing, running right through the entire length; over the doorways are sculptured Buddhist symbols; in the semicircular space or doorhead of the central door is a symbol similar to that given in plate X, fig. A, Vol. III., Archæological Reports, but without the central upright and with three arms on each side; in short like some of the symbols at Bharhat; over the doorheads of the sides are sculptured the lotus; the pillars are similar to those in the last cave, with similar four-animal capitals and similar necks; they are octagonal. The level of the floor of the verandah in front of the cell is lower than that of the cell by about 15 inches; a bench runs round three sides of the verandah. The

pillars of the façade of verandah are quite plain; one has disappeared and one is now hanging from the roof; they have corbels and eaves, &c., like those in the last-mentioned cave; the underside of the eaves inside have projecting dentils, evidently representing the rafters of a wooden original and giving one more proof of the wooden origin of the earliest Indian architecture.

The great interest of this cave lies in a long inscription, now unfortunately sadly mutilated, within the cell; the entire walls of the cell had evidently once been covered with a thin layer of fine plaster. The centre of the back wall is occupied by sculptures of the sun and moon, but on either side of the central sculpture, written on the fine plaster with a red pigment of some kind, once extended a long inscription of which remains still exist; on the left side the writing has been so obliterated by time, damp, and possibly by the subsequent occupants of the cave, that only isolated letters here and there exist to prove its existence, but on the right something more than isolated letters still exist. I append what still remains legible, without attempting to read it.[1]



The entire inscription was bounded on the lower side by a thick horizontal red line.

Below this cave is another of two openings in the façade. The pillars of the verandah are similar to the last; at the sides of the verandah outside, and as it were guarding the entrances to it, are sculptured figures of soldiers armed with swords. On the back wall of the verandah, near the top, in

[1] As well as I can make out, the remaining letters of each line appear to represent the same words: thus, in the beginning of the second and third lines are the two letters *kha, khá;* and in the second, third, fourth, and fifth lines I read —*babukharodhadatha.*—A. Cunningham.

the space between the two doors of the cell, is a short inscription—[1]



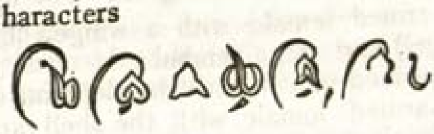
Continuing to circle round the hill a short way on, and at a higher level than this cave, is a natural cavern apparently artificially enlarged; this cave had no rock-cut pillars, but a socket in the roof proves that it had one built pillar inserted as support;—the cave is quite plain and there is nothing of interest about it.

Close to it is a cave of two openings in the façade; the pillars are plain, but very remarkable, being in plan double octagons (two octagons touching each other by a side) but surmounted by a single oblong animal capital. The angles of the verandah are all rounded off; the eaves represented in this cave have no final ornament, being plain pointed like a plain Saracenic arch. I found no inscriptions in this cave.

At the side of this cave are steps leading up. Further on are two small caves; in the upper one is painted a figure of Jagannatha in staring colours, the lower one is a plain rounded niche of which the front has tumbled down.

Next to it is a plain cave of no interest, but large; the left side is partly broken, and so is the right, and the roof and back wall are cracked. Over this cave is another, but the crack runs right through both, or rather through both storeys of the cave, if we consider it as a two-storeyed cave. It is from this crack that the hill derives its name of Khandagiri. Over the top of the second storey once stood a wooden structure, as socket holes for the insertion of round posts exist on the roof; a deep fissure goes round the space.

Continuing to circle the hill is a large cave once supported by two pillars at the entrance, giving three openings, and another pair half-way in, forming therefore a pillared hall, but all the pillars are now gone. There is, and was, no cell to this cave, which was simply a pillared hall open in front. On the left jamb or side at the entrance is an inscription in shell characters



[1] This inscription will be found in the Corpus Inscriptioneme Indicarum, Vol II, Plate XVII, No. 1 of the Khandagiri caves. It reads—*Páda mulikasa kusumasa lenain.*

On the back wall is a rude inscription 

and a single letter 

Next to this were once two caves separated by a thin wall, each consisting of a small verandah fronting a small cell with one door, the cells having in addition a door to communicate with each other, but the dividing wali, as well as the wall separating the verandah from the cells, has been broken down, as also are all the pillars of the verandah ; these last were replaced at some period after their breaking by built pillars, which, however, do not touch the roof, there being a clear space of at least half an inch between it and the tops of the pillars. The cave is remarkable for its sculptures; in the right hand chamber, on the back wall, are sculptured a row of figures similar to the well-known seated figures of Buddha, which may be figures of Jaina hierarchs ; each is distinguished by a symbol, the symbols being the bull, the elephant, the horse, the monkey, the elephant again, the lotus and seated Buddha serpent canopied, the wheel and pippal branch, the first four representing, respectively, Jaina, Âdinâtha, Ajitanâtha, Sambhunâtha, Abhainandanâtha ; but as I can find no names for the others,—indeed to the best of my knowledge none of the Jaina hierarchs had the pippal branches and the wheel for symbols, while we know that Sakya Sinha's symbols were the pippal branch and the wheel,—I am inclined to consider the sculptures as Buddhist ones, but I am unable to identify them ; much light, however, will be thrown on them by Hodgson's paper and drawings in the Asiatic Researches. These figures are sculptured deeply and boldly ; the design is spirited, and the execution good.

Below these is a row of figures of flat execution, and much ruder, though still tolerably good ; they consist of Ganeça and seven out of the eight Saktis. The presence of only seven out of the eight Saktis is accounted for by the want of space on the wall for the eighth. The figures are :—

(1) A ten-armed female with a winged human figure (angel) and crane symbol.
(2) A four-armed female with the elephant symbol.
(3) A two-armed female with the shell and the male generative organs as symbols.
(4) A four-armed female with a child in arms ; monkey symbol.

(5) A four-armed female with a child in arms; pheasant or peafowl symbol.
(6) A two-armed female holding a half-opened lotus flower in her hand; on her pedestal is sculptured what I take to be the Vajra; the figure of the symbol is obliterated.
(7) A two-armed female with a child and the lion symbol.

Besides these, there are on the right side wall two figures of seated Buddhas, one serpent canopied with naga, nagnis and a water-jar for symbols; the other with the bull symbol. On the left wall of the right hand compartment is a small figure of Buddha with  for symbol.

A bench runs all round; but this is evidently a recent addition.

Continuing to circle round the hill one comes upon a large cave profusely ornamented with sculpture. The cave consisted originally of a cell with three openings behind a large verandah, but the dividing wall has been broken down, and two built pillars inserted instead, thus making of the original cell and its verandah one large room divided by the two central pillars; in front of this enlarged cell has been *built* a verandah.

On the architrave inside is a long inscription of three lines, which begins—Sri Madudyota Kesari Devasya[1] pravarddhamane Vijaya rayasya Samvat.

The cave is covered on three sides with sculpture; on the left wall is a row of five seated Buddhas, with their symbols, of which the first, fourth, and fifth have for symbols a bull, an animal like a dog, and a long-tailed, heavy-fronted animal, which I take for either a hyena or a hippopotamus; the symbols of the second and third figures are broken. To the extreme left of the series of five seated figures is a smaller seated figure of a female.

Below the upper row is a row of females, five in number; the first a twelve-armed female, with a winged human figure as symbol; the second, also twelve-armed, with a figure like a bull

[1] General Cunningham's reading is—Sri Madusyota Kesari Devasya pravarddhanne Rajye Samvat 18 (?) Sri Arya Sangha prati Vadoha graha kula vivischa (?) de Sri Ganascharya Sri Kalachandra bha * * * Sya * li khya Subha Chandrasyeh * * *

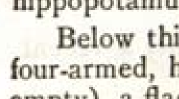
for symbol; the third, a four-armed figure, with a figure like a bull for symbol; the fourth, an eight-armed figure, with a lion for symbol; the fifth, a ten-armed figure, with a magar (crocodile) for symbol.

On the back wall is sculptured a large standing naked figure, then a row of six seated figures; the first with a lotus within the crescent moon for symbol; the second with



for symbol; the third with the moon for symbol; the fourth with a fish for symbol; the fifth with what appears like a lingam on its argha as symbol, but it is partly broken; the sixth has a heavy-looking animal, which I take to be a hippopotamus, but which may be a bear, for symbol.

Below this row is a row of six female figures; the first is four-armed, holding in her hands a bundle (one right hand empty), a flag, and a shell or bag—she has the goose or perhaps the chakwa for symbol; the second is eight-armed, holding in her hands a club, an axe, a cup with a custard-apple in it (one right hand empty), a sceptre, a hammer, a shell, and a shield—she has the peacock for symbol; the third is twelve-armed, holding in her hands a club, a sword, a torch, a stiletto, a non-descript article which I cannot recognise (one hand is empty), a torch again, a shell, a bow, a shield, a bell (one left hand also empty)—she has the lion for symbol; the fourth is a ten-armed female, holding in her right hand what looks like fruit of various sorts, and in her left hand also fruit, flowers, leaves, and also a bow. I cannot identify the fruit and flowers; she has a heavy-headed, long-mouthed animal



for symbol, which I cannot recognise—the animal is represented seated; the fifth is four-armed, with a cat for symbol, but I cannot identify the objects she is holding in her hands; the sixth is also four-armed, with a heavy-bodied large-headed animal for symbol, but I cannot make out the objects she is holding in her hands.

After these sculptures comes a row of ten seated figures resembling Buddha; they have for symbols the deer, the boar, the hyena (an animal with a thick tail and low hind quarters), the vagra, the deer, the dog or goat, the dolphin, a water-jar or vase, the tortoise, a figure like a cornucopia, and a lotus with a thick rod or stem rising out of it.

Below this row is a row of ten females. The first is eight-armed, with the haṅsa (goose or chakwa) for symbol, holding in her hands a lotus bud, a rosary, a chakra (one empty), a full-blown lotus, a shell, an urn or water-jar, and an object I cannot recognise. The second is also eight-armed, having for symbol a bird with a tuft on the head and long legs, but a short tail, possibly a pea-hen. She holds in her hands a club, a sword, arrows (one hand empty), a shield, a trident, a bow, a stiletto. The third figure is that of a ten-armed female with an animal which has a sharp, long mouth like a beak, but no horns, for symbol, perhaps a donkey; she holds in her hands a sword, an arrow, a pine cone, a knife (one hand empty), a shield, a hammer, a stiletto, a bundle of reeds (?), and a thing like a chakra set up on a stick, probably meant for an ensign of some kind. The fourth figure is six-armed, with the camel for symbol; she holds in her hands a rosary, a chakra (one hand empty), a flag or axe, a bulbous article set up on a rod (one left hand also empty). The fifth figure is two-armed, and is represented with two elephants at her sides with their trunks raised over her head pouring water. She is seated cross-legged, holds a lotus in each hand, and has for symbol  The sixth figure is ten-armed, with the buffalo for her symbol; in two of her right hands she holds objects which I cannot recognise; the third is empty; in the remaining two she holds a sceptre and hook. In her left hands she holds a lotus, a shell, a bud or flower or fruit of some kind, a chakra, a vajra. The seventh figure is two-armed, with a boar for symbol. One of her hands is empty; the left hand holds a lotus *fruit*. The eighth figure is an eight-armed female, with a very short-tailed animal, which I take to be a horse, for symbol. She holds in her hands a club, arrows, a sceptre (one hand empty), a lotus or sword, a shield, a bow, and a vajra. A subordinate scene represents a female lying and attendants fanning her; a covered cup, which I take to represent a pán-dán (box containing betel-leaves and spices), is placed near her. The ninth figure is a three-headed, four-armed female; a bird with a heavy head and wings is her symbol. She holds in her one right hand an object I cannot recognise,—the other being empty; her left hands hold a bunch of either flowers or fruits and a spouted water-jar. The tenth figure is two-armed and seated under a sál tree, which forms a canopy over her head; she holds a

child with her left arm, the right being empty; her symbol is the lion.

On the right wall is also a series of sculptures, of which the upper row consists of two seated figures like Buddha, nagas, with hoods extended, forming canopies over their heads; they have lions for symbols.

The lower row consists of two females; one is eight-armed, with a naga canopy over her head. She holds in her hands a hammer, a club, arrows (one hand empty), a stiletto, a vajra, a bow, and a shield; the other is a twenty-armed female, one of whose hands on each side is empty; the others hold, on the right, a sword, a vajra, a hammer, a sceptre, some arrows, a chakra, a short spear, an object which I take for a flag, and an object I cannot recognise; on the left, a shield, a noose, a bow, a club, a water-jar, a lotus, a shell, and an object I cannot recognise.

Beside these figures is sculptured a standing naked male figure, with a water-jar near his feet.

The side walls of what was originally the verandah are also adorned with sculpture—on the right, a twelve-armed female with the bull symbol, holding a sword, a shield, a short spear, a vajra, an object I cannot recognise (one hand empty), a trisul, a chakra, a water-jar, and in the three remaining left hands objects which I cannot recognise; on the left, a female figure, many-armed, but her arms are mostly broken. A figure like a seated Buddha is sculptured on top, above her head, and on her pedestal is sculptured a kneeling human male figure with hands joined as in prayer.

Next to this cave is another large one, like the last, also adorned with sculpture. This cave, like the last, has had the original verandah rock-cut pillars replaced by built ones, and the sanctum or cell was separated from the verandah by a wall with doors; but this has been knocked down long ago, and a row of pillars substituted, thus making of the cell and its verandah one large pillared hall, to which a built pillared verandah of rubble and mortar has been added. In this cave, which is now used by the Jains, are three chaubutras, thickly white-washed, and evidently not fifty years old, and on each is a standing naked male figure, all with the bull symbol, and therefore intended for the Hurarah Adinatha, the first of the twenty-four Jains.

But there are numerous ancient sculptures cut on the walls of the cave which do not appear now to be objects of worship, judging from their evidently neglected condition; these are

ranged along the side and back walls of what was originally the cell. On the left wall is a row of four figures; the first a large naked standing figure of Adinâtha, with the bull symbol, next to it a smaller one of Ajitanâtha, with the elephant symbol, and next to it, and of the same size, two seated ones, with the horse and monkey symbols, one of Sambhunâtha and one of Abhainandanâtha. The series is continued on to the back wall, where are sculptured five seated figures, with the chakwa and one water-jar, the lotus and two water-jars, the swastika and two water-jars, the sun and moon with one water-jar, and the peacock; the first four representing respectively Sumatinâtha, Supadmanâtha, Supârswanâtha, and Chandraprabha, thus completing the first eight of the twenty-four Jains; the fifth I take to be Sitalanâtha, the 10th Jain, notwithstanding that previous authorities have given a tree or flower for his symbol; for I conceive that they were in error, having been led to take the outspread tail of the peacock for a tree or flower.

After these comes a row of four naked standing figures, with the Vajra and two water-jars, the lily or other aquatic plant, and two water-jars, the buffalo (this is conjecture, as the symbol is hidden behind a modern chaubutra), and the boar with two water two jars, representing respectively Dharmmanâtha, Neminatha, Vasupadhya, and Vimalanâtha, or the 15th, 21st, 12th, and 13th Jains. Next comes a row of seven seated figures, having for symbols the porcupine, the crocodile (this is not clearly visible on account of the modern chaubutra), the antelope, the goat, the fish, the water-jar, and the hooded serpent, representing respectively Anantanâtha, Pushpadanâtha, Santanâtha, Kunthanâtha, Aranâtha, Mallinâtha, and Pârswanâtha, or the 14th, 9th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 23rd Jaina hierarchs. In continuation of these on the right wall are two seated figures with the tortoise and the shell for symbols, and representing Munisuvratha and Neminâtha, the 20th and 22nd hierarchs. After these is a large standing naked figure with the rhinoceros symbol, and clearly meant for Sri Antanâtha, the 11th Jaina, and next to it a larger standing naked figure with the lion symbol, being Varddhamâna or Mahâvira, the last of the twenty-four Jaina hierarchs. In a recess in what was originally the verandah of this cave are set up two cones of earth (?) and a trisul, which are evidently modern. It is clear that this cave was from an early period devoted to the Jaina faith; whether such was its original purpose is more than can confidently be affirmed, for there is nothing to show when the cave was

originally excavated, and the inferior quality, both in design and execution, of the sculptures, clearly demonstrates that they belong to a comparatively recent period and certainly posterior to the sculptures in the last cave, which far surpass these in every respect. An inscription records the visits of certain Srawaks to the cave. One reads Sri Achârya, Kula Chandra, the disciple of Saha Chandra Katuriji, * * rest obliterated; another Sri Sravaki Vi * * *

Continuing to go along the slope of the hill are traces of several caves in a group, which were in course of excavation but were abandoned shortly after having been commenced; and beyond these are the remains of a group of caves which have long ago fallen in. Several well-executed Jaina sculptures adorn these abandoned excavations, two naked ones of Adinâtha, one Mahavera. A very curious unfinished cave stands close to these in a re-entering angle of the scarped face of the hill; it faces south. It is divided by a septum into two compartments; on the left wall a standing serpent-canopied naked figure, then four small ones; in the right compartment, on the back wall, a snake-hooded figure, and at its side a small niche with an almost obliterated inscription over it in five lines, of which the first is quite gone, leaving the opening Sri above visible; the rest is also much worn, and the inscription, so far as I can make out, is not of much interest; it is in characters of the ninth or tenth century. The last line gives the workman's name as Sri Dharasya Nâthasya. The body of the inscription mentions a tirath whose name, which I cannot confidently decipher, may be of interest. Khandagiri was evidently a Jaina place of pilgrimage from an early date; to the right of the niche are other figures, each in small niches; the execution is coarse but not very bad; the design is lame.

Beyond this cave is a baoli or reservoir a good way above the foot of the hill, the water being held in by a rock wall on the downstream side; this wall is cut on the outside into steps, but they are so very narrow (being only ½ inch in the tread) that they evidently could never have been intended for steps; I believe they were left in an unfinished state. Beyond this is a ruined cave, and beyond it traces of several which were never finished; beyond these are the remains of a built temple, of which few traces now remain, and near it a small rock-cut baoli containing green slimy water; at its south-west corner is a small cell or niche cut in the rock, and a short way off two others;

beyond these there are no other remains that I am aware of on the Khandagiri Hill.

30.—UDAYAGIRI.

Of the ruins on Udayagiri Hill, to the east of and almost touching Khandagiri, I will begin with the great Râni Hanspur excavation, though I need say little about it, Drs. Fergusson and Rajendra having both written about it, and the latter having, I believe, fully illustrated it also. The broad feature of the design (all rock-cut it must be remembered) is an open quadrangle surrounded on three sides by rock-cut cells in two and even three storeys. On the fourth side is a long low mound, evidently the remains of *built* buildings, for from the position of the excavation it is evident that rock-cut buildings could only be had round three sides, the excavation having been made into the *side* of a hill. I am not aware if this low long mound has been dug into, but I think that excavation into it would not be unproductive of results of interest.

The arrangement of this excavation shows that from the earliest times Indian civil architecture has adhered to the same broad feature in plan; the merits of the plan have not been properly brought forward; it is evident that the larger the scale on which the work is executed the greater will be the effect *viewed from the court-yard*, not in the simple proportion of size, but in a duplicate proportion, due, first, to actual increase of size, and second to the increased power of receiving a larger portion of the whole at any instant on the retina, more especially as regards the vertical dimensions in a narrow court-yard, the head has to be tilted up to an inconvenient extent to see the entire height of the inner façade; whereas the same height of façade, if seen at a greater distance, *i.e.*, with a larger court-yard, would be taken in at one view. Unfortunately few Indian palaces, or other buildings having open court-yards, have been built of such dimensions as to enable the spectator to receive in its entirety a view of any one side of the interior façade from any point within the court; and as it is the inner façade of such buildings which experience teaches me is more highly ornamented than the exterior, the chief beauty in this arrangement is lost from inability of the spectator to receive an image of the *whole as a whole* on the retina of his eye.

Some distance north of this palace (if palace it be) is a square hole in the rock with steps leading down to it, evidently meant to be a reservoir, and known as the Lalita Kundi; it contains now a little very dirty water.

To the south-west of this kund are two small caves, open in front and plain; one of them appears to have had once wooden doors: behind these are two others; they had evidently been the dwellings of idle people, as the native play-board, somewhat resembling a chess-board, is rudely scratched in the floors of some of them. A short distance from here is the Ganeça Gumpha, a cave so called from a sculpture of Ganeça on the wall of one of its cells; this cave is similar to the old caves described in the Khandagiri Hill; like them, the level of the floor of the verandah was originally lower than that of the cell, and had a bench running along its three sides; it has now been artificially raised to the same level as the floor of the inner chamber; there are a few inscriptions scratched on the floor, two in Uriya, "Namo jogia" and "Bonamali Maharana." Elephants guard the entrance, which is approached by steps, but the steps are evidently modern, as they hide portions of the elephants.

In the compound is the lower fragment of a sculptured elephant; it is represented holding up with its trunk a branch of the sala tree and a lotus flower. There is the well-known inscription near the sculpture of Ganeça within the cave which needs no comment from me.

To the south-west of this is the Deva Sabha cave, a long cell fronted by a verandah supported in front by two pillars and two pilasters, all quite plain; the cell has three entrances corresponding to the three openings of the verandah. I found no inscriptions in this cave.

Over this cave is a broken cave, and behind this a circular platform built of wedge-shaped stone, cut to the exact figure required to form a correct circle 68 feet in diameter. There are socket holes which must once have held wooden posts to support a light roof of either timber or thatch, more probably the latter; tradition says it is the gaddi of Raja Lalitendra Kesari; to the north of and touching it, but below its level, is a broken cave, and also some others of no interest.

After these is a small cave of a single cell with two doors fronted by a verandah, also of two openings; it is inscribed—a single line—in the Lât characters.

Close to it is a deep niche in a boulder, and to the south-

east of it is the Hathi gopha, so called from a deep projecting eave in front of it being cut to the shape of an elephant's head as the people think, but which is doubtless a lion's head; it is a plain small cell with one door, fronted by a verandah of one opening; it is quite plain internally; it is inscribed in the Lât characters. Near it is a group of three or four open caves or niches, and also some broken caves of no interest. The Pavan gopha is a large open cave; tradition asserts that it was the elephant stable of Raja Lalitendra Kesari, though it is hardly high enough for that purpose; there are numerous detached inscriptions in this cave in Gupta characters. This cave is evidently a natural one, perhaps enlarged in parts by art. Here is the famous Aira Raja inscription at the entrance, high up in front.

Close to and to east of it is an open cave, and over it a cave two of whose sides are now open, though one of them was originally closed by a cut-stone wall ornamented and ingeniously jaggled into the rock; it was barely 6 inches thick.

In a line with this, and over the roof of the Pavan gopha, but set off some distance behind the outer line of its natural rocky roof, is a row of four caves of no special interest.

To the west of Pavan gopha is a small cell cut in a boulder; it has two inscriptions in the Lât characters, one on the right jamb of the entrance and one over the doorway; on the other side of the boulder is another cave, and near it to its south is a small boulder pierced with a cave. Lower down is a large cave named Haridâs gopha from an ascetic of that name, who, within the memory of living individuals, is said to have taken up his quarters there; the verandah has only one pillar, but the cell behind has three doorways, one of which consequently falls right behind the pillar; it is inscribed with one line in the Lât characters; the cave is now used as a temple, I believe, and a figure of Jogannâth is painted on the back wall of the cell in staring colours and in all its hideousness.

Near it is a large cave known as Rasni gopha. Haridâs used this as a cook-house, whence the name; the atrocity needs no comment. The cave has a frontage of three pillars and two pilasters; the pillars have brackets only towards the eaves; the cell has four doorways corresponding to the four openings of the verandah; the cave is uninscribed.

Next to this is a small cave where Haridâs' syce used to live; of course it is as black as soot can make it.

Then comes a large cave known as the Panasa gopha, or the Jack cave, from a jack-fruit tree in the enclosure round it. The cave is two-storeyed, and from the marks of plaster casts taken off its sculpture, &c., I am confident the work of Dr. Rajendra will fully illustrate it; I need therefore say little about it. There are three inscriptions in this cave, one in the upper floor along the top of the doorways, one in a similar position in the ground floor, and the third on the right hand side wall of the verandah. The inscriptions are very important.

Lower down and close to it is another cave which once boasted three pillars in its façade, but of which only two now remain; the verandah led into two chambers, each with two entrances, corresponding to the four openings in the verandah itself, but the wall dividing off the cells from the verandah, and also those dividing the cells from each other, have long disappeared. I call this cave *A*.

Near it is a small cell with a closed semi-circular portico open at one side.

Then comes a small open cave which was once adorned with a verandah, supported originally on wooden posts and subsequently on stone pillars; socket holes in the floor mark the positions of these. Close to it is a large flat stone, part of the living rock which separates it from the Rani Hlanspur cave.

Below it to the south is a small cave with a verandah, but the entrance into the cell is not through the verandah, but from the side. Immediately below the open cave just mentioned is a large cave which once had two pillars and two pilasters, giving three openings in its façade, which corresponded to the three doorways behind leading into the cell; but the pillars are now all gone and have been replaced by one built pillar, and of the three doorways only one now exists; the roof of the cell, which is a single long room, is curved, not flat as usual.

At its side is a small but ornamented cave, the entrance being guarded by two sculptured figures, one male, the other female; on the two sides the verandah leads into two cells not communicating with each other and having one doorway each.

Below these caves were two caves; the larger one had two doors and a verandah in front, but the verandah with its roof has fallen in; the smaller one was a single small cell without a verandah in front.

At their side to the south is a small cell, the exterior façade of which is ornamented with sculpture.

Lower down and a little to one side of the last is a cell; it had two doorways and was shaded by a verandah; the verandah has one pillar yet standing, but the dividing wall has disappeared. The cave is open at one side. At its side is a now broken cave.

There is another small cave to the north of cave *A*, which is now used as a storehouse for all the fragments of sculpture which is found in and about the excavated hills; and to its side is, first, a large open cave, followed by one of two doorways shaded by a verandah of two openings. There are no other caves that I could see or hear of.

Tradition says there are four sacred Giris, the Khandagiri, the Udayagiri, the Nilagiri, and the Mâlayagiri, within Utkaladesa; the first two have been noticed. Nilagiri is near Balasor and is known to have some remains near its foot; Mâlayagiri is doubtful; I take it to be the great hill in the Sokinda State near the foot of which is the Deoli noticed in a previous page of this report.

There are some caves in the low flat hill just north of Singpur or Bhuvaneswar, but they are plain and of no special interest.

The remains at Bhuvaneswar have been so often noticed by competent writers, from Stirling downwards, that it should be superfluous for me to say a single word regarding them.

31.—DHAULI.

Four miles south by a little west from Bhuvaneswar is the great tank dug by the incestuous King Gangeswara and known as Kansalayagung; on the west edge of it are two very short ranges of low rocky hills running parallel to each other at the distance of a few hundred feet; on the north face of the southern range is the famous elephant cut out of the rock, beneath which is engraved what is known as the Dauli version of Asoka's edicts. I need say nothing regarding it, as it will be fully noticed in the 1st Volume of General Cunningham's forthcoming great work "The Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum." The graphic description and illustrations by Kittoe in Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, leave nothing

to be done by me in that line also.[1] I will therefore content myself with recording from personal knowledge that the elephant is held in great veneration in the whole neighbourhood, and even so far as Khurda. The most solemn mode of administering the oath to witnesses in criminal trials is to make them swear "by Dhavaleswari Mata." I could not ascertain the origin of this custom, nor were the answers to my enquiries always satisfactory in connecting the "Dhavaleswari Mata" with the elephant at Dhauli; but my impression, based on my enquiries, is that Dhavaleswari Mata is the supposed resident or tutelary goddess of this sacred spot. There appeared to me the remains of a stûpa on the flat terrace of the hill near the elephant, and also one facing it on the opposite ridge, but they had long ago been dug into. A few bricks are to be found scattered about in the vicinity of both and at the foot of the hills.

There are some natural caverns in the ridge, but of no interest.

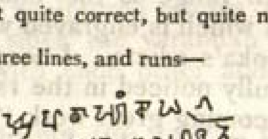
On the opposite ridge, which culminates in a temple-crowned peak at the western extremity, are a number of caves, natural and artificial; to the east of the temple, and at a lower level than it, is a long natural fissure full of bats; it has a small inscription cut on a boulder at the top near the entrance;[2] lower down on the south slope of the hill is an artificially-cut cave lately used by a jogi as his residence, and by him blocked up till his return from some expedition which he has undertaken; close to it are several caves which have been begun, but left unfinished, and a large hollow passage or fissure in the rock which I did not explore.

Down below, between the western extremities of the two ridges, is a small temple of laterite, quite plain and apparently once plastered; it is sacred to Mahadeo; it faces west.

The temple on the top of the hill is remarkable for several peculiarities. The mouldings are plain, but bold and massive above the ordinary; the sanctum is square as usual, but the roof—

[1] The drawings are not quite correct, but quite near enough for all present purposes.

[2] The inscription is in three lines, and runs—



not the tower roof, but the false or inner roof—is at a great height above the floor, and contrasts most favourably with the low roofs of temples in general; the temple faces east; it has no Mahamandapa, and there is nothing to show it had one at any previous time. It therefore was of the Bengal type in this respect, and like them the façade has two openings over each other, the lower giving admission into the sanctum, the upper into the chamber formed by the upper surface of the inner roof and the real hollow roof or tower proper; but this latter opening, which is in the examples I have noticed in Bengal readily visible, is here so placed, and the pediment over the portico in front of the cell so arranged in height, as to be hidden from the casual spectator; it is accordingly a decided improvement on the style, and the main entrance itself being remarkably tall, the mass of masonry of the tower above it does not appear overwhelmingly heavy; it has thus avoided the two great faults to which temples of this class are liable, by a simple expedient. The puzzle to me is that the remedy being so simple it was not universally adopted; but I suspect the priesthood preferred a stronger shade than "the dim religious light" for the sanctums of their gods, for reasons which will readily occur to every one.

The whole of the north side of the temple has fallen down, but the other sides nevertheless stand intact, though evidently rather shaky.

The great height of walls of the cell was in the interior broken by a bench or cornice running round at a height of 6 feet above the floor.

Cells with tall roofs and a cornice or bench running round it, similar in principle to this one, are not uncommon in Jaina temples, whose cells, often enshrining colossal naked statues, were obliged to be made high; but I cannot now call to mind a single Saivic temple besides this, which, enshrining a lingam, has adopted this arrangement.

The temple stands on a platform over 150 feet long and 100 feet wide, supported by revetments of cut blocks of laterite set without cement; this court again appears to have stood within a larger outer platform, at a lower level, similarly supported by revetments, but not of cut laterite. There are a great many brickbats scattered about in both chaubutras, along the slopes, and at the foot of the hill; perhaps the temple had a brick Mahamandapa attached which has now utterly disappeared, leaving no sign of its junction with the stone work of the cell and its attached antarala.

I would not confidently venture a guess as to the age of the temple in the absence of sculpture; but judging from the bold mouldings, I would not think the fifth century of our era much too early a date for its erection; the inscription from the cave is in Gupta characters, but the absence of all sculpture about the temple to judge by renders it extremely difficult to assign it to any period in particular between the fourth and sixth centuries.

There are two temples at and near the village, Kansalyapur, on the banks of the Daya River, but I was not allowed to examine them; they appear to be old temples kept in repair and white-washed.

32.—RUDRAPUR.

Kittoe, at page 660, Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, notices the temple of Panchameswar Mahadeo at Rudrapur. I did not see it.

SATYABADI.

There is a famous temple at Satyabadi which is, I believe, noticed in Dr. Rajendra's work. Two Brahmans of Seorinârâyan, it is related, agreed that if they had a son and a daughter respectively, they were to be given in marriage to each other. When the time came and the father of the daughter went to demand the fulfilment of the promise, the other met him on the way and refused; thereupon he appealed to the Raja of Kalinga, who was the paramount sovereign, for redress; the Raja naturally demanded witnesses; the man said he could produce none, as no one was present when the compact was made near a stone. The Raja refusing to entertain his plaint without evidence, the man came to the stone where the promise had been made, and earnestly prayed to the deity of the stone to help him; the deity told him to go back to the Raja and that he would follow, "but," said the stone (or the deity within the stone), "if you look back I will not go." The man rose and departed and he could hear the footsteps of the god following him, till, at the spot where the temple stands, the ground being covered with soft grass, the footsteps of the god were no longer audible, the Brahman turned back to ascertain if he was being followed, and that very instant the stone stood still and has remained immoveable ever since; the man related the whole story to the Raja, who came to see

the prodigy and ordered the other Brahman to fulfil his promise on the evidence of the stone; he also built the temple enshrining the stone, and the name Satyabadi owes its origin to this circumstance. I did not see the temple, but I mention the story as it is a wide and well-known one, and I heard it near Seorinârâyan, not from a Brahman, but from a Saora, who has no faith in the Brahmanical deities. The story would lead to the inference that at some remote period the kings of Kalinga reigned over Seorinârâyan, and if over Seorinârâyan then over the whole of Chhattisgarh. I would, in connection with this, recall the title "Trikalingadhipati" applied in some inscriptions to the sovereigns who ruled over Jabalpur as well as Katak.

33.—KHURDA.

Khurda possesses some remains in the shape of a fort mahal, and temples, but no antiquity; there is a cave in the range to the south of the city mentioned in the Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII, as reputed to be inscribed. I was fortunate enough to discover it; it is situated near the top of the hill at the point where the range, about its middle, is lowest. Over this lowest point or pass of the ridge a foot-track crosses the range, and the cave is on the right hand side. There are numerous pilgrims' records in it: the cave itself is a natural cavern improved by art; rows of low rock pallets line the floor, and it had obviously been the residence of jogis, each occupying one of the small raised rock pallets; the inscriptions are of no special interest; one is of the ubiquitous Magaradhwaj jogi, although, as it now exists, the "Magar" has got obliterated; three others are in the late Gupta characters in its transitional stage to the shell characters; another is dated Samvat 780, and this one is of importance, not for what it says, but simply as proving beyond doubt that even as early as the beginning of the eighth century of our era the written characters used in Orissa had begun to change into the rounded form,—a change the final phase of which is to be seen in the modern Uriya characters which, notwithstanding their changed appearance, are in several cases readily traceable, not to the forms of Sanskrit characters now in use, but to the forms of the late Gupta period; of this the most striking examples are *cha, chha, t, tha, ma, ba,* and *ca.* There are altogether some fourteen distinct records of pilgrims, most of only three or four letters; a few unfortunately

mostly illegible (to me) of two or three lines; none appear, however, to be records of any importance.

34.—KONTILLA.

About 36 miles to the north-west of Khurda, on the south bank of the Mahanadi, is a group of temples in the village of Kontilla, most picturesquely situated on the top of an isolated hillock; they are approached by a long flight of steps, partly rock cut, partly built, and near the upper end built exclusively of cut stone: the numbers and positions of the various slender spires, lit up in all the brilliancy of white-wash by the early beams of the rising sun, present a charming view; unfortunately a near examination of them, which I attempted at the risk of being mobbed, dispels the charm. The temples are without exception modern and clumsy, adorned in many cases with painted and sculptured obscenities, not in the charming manner of the sculptures at Khajurâha, where the evident labour of execution and finish lessen to a great measure our repugnance to the obscenities, by inducing the mind to dwell on the excellence of execution rather than on the degradation of taste and morality displayed, but in all the hideousness of rude sculpture and ruder design, superadded to the most utterly degraded sensuality.

35.—TÂRÂDEVI.

I examined the temples of Târâdevi Thâkurâni, about 8 miles south-west from Rameswar; they are small and appear to be modern, and are of no interest. Several temples too have been broken up and their materials carried away to build houses.

SEBAKSAI.

I saw the foundations of several small laterite temples near Sebaksai, all small, of which not even one course is now left, their sites being marked by a solitary cut block or two, and the even smoothed surface of the laterite rock on which they stood as on a platform.

36.—MANGLAJURI.

I visited also Manglajuri on the Chilka Lake; the village once stood on the edge of the lake, but the lake must be filling up gradually, though slowly, for at present the edge

of the water is fully a mile from the village, the intervening rich soil being under cultivation. There are several temples here both in and out of the village, but unfortunately they are all modern, built of rubble and mortar, or brick and mortar, or both mixed. I believe one or two old temples once stood here, as I saw some of cut stone used in the modern temples which had evidently not been cut on *their* account; but I am unable to assign their sites with even a shadow of probability.

CHANDESWAR.

On the great road from Katak to Ganjam, about 28 miles from Khurda, is the village of Chandeswar, with a fine cut stone and profusely sculptured temple. The general arrangement of the parts of the temple will be seen from the plate, which also gives a section or profile of the mouldings. The temple was a large and complete one originally, which could not have been less than 90 feet long and 45 feet broad; as it is, the existing ruins extend to nearly 80 feet in length. Of this grand temple there now stands only the sanctum and the antarala. It will be seen from the plan that within the sanctum are four pillars; these support a roof or canopy immediately over the object of worship, which is a lingam. I cannot describe the interior for the simple reason that I was not permitted to enter; but as the temple was left open at night and the obstructive Brahmans had disappeared, I had an opportunity of measuring the dimensions, which was not to be neglected; within a short time the Brahmans, who had only gone for their evening meal, returned, but I had then finished the necessary measurements and had made myself scarce. From the sculpture and the mouldings I am inclined to attribute to this temple no very high antiquity, and I think that the eleventh century of our era is the earliest date which can be assigned to it; there are several obscenities among the sculptures which adorn the exterior, though the builders had the good sense to place them in retired positions; the prominent sculptures are those of the Hindu divinities; the whole of the sculptures are of the type and the execution to which art had descended in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Round about the great temple which faces east are a number of small shrines and some reservoirs of dirty water; these appear to be for the most part recent and built out of the materials of old demolished temples, though there

are some that have not been bu.lt of the ruins of older shrines. To the north of and close to the temple is a large tank with stone revetments and ghâts; the tank is evidently old and coeval with the temple. Round the temple are numerous brickbats lying scattered about in heaps or imbedded in the road, and there are evident signs of there having once existed not only several other temples round about, but also a small fort and several civil buildings (perhaps palaces) and an extensive village; all are now mere mounds of rubbish covered with the deciduous vegetation common in the lowlands of Katak. It would not, I believe, be advisable to waste much time and money in making excavations here, as I found nothing above ground which could lead one to suppose that any remains of an age prior to the tenth or eleventh century existed; but there is no doubt that interesting remains of the period subsequent to the tenth century would reward excavations made here. There are some unimportant detached letters scratched in on the pavement round the temple.

37.—SUNAKHALLA.

A temple similar to the one just described is said to exist at or near Sunakhalla; but I did not visit the place.

38.—BHANPUR.

At Bhanpur are some temples and several others round about within a radius of about 3 miles; most of these are of no special interest and comparatively modern, although several have evidently been built of old materials. There are some temples in Bhanpur ornamented with *terra-cotta* work, but inferior by a great deal to the temples at Párá in Manbhum and Bishanpur near Medinipur. The principal temple in the place is within a high walled court-yard on the edge of a deep small dirty pool of water. I was of course not admitted into the temple, though, through the countenance of some police subordinates in the place, I succeeded in being admitted within the court-yard. The temple is built in much the same style as the one at Chandeswar, but the Mahamandapa is certainly either an altogether late addition or has been built to replace the original one which tumbled down; it is, looking from the outside, a plain long dark hall with few mouldings and no sculpture, and thickly plastered

over; the confined space of the court-yard prevented a proper photograph being taken from the interior, while the height of the inclosure walls prevented a similar attempt from the outside.

Within as well as outside and close to the enclosure are the remains of several temples, mostly of a small size and either in ruins or recently repaired; patient search with facilities for examination would, I have little doubt, yield a great deal of interesting archæological matter here and hereabouts; but the stolid bigotry of the people and active opposition of the Brahmans preclude any attempt at a close and careful examination of the ruins, not only here, but within the whole of the Katak Circle and such portions even of the Ganjam district which I had the fortune or misfortune of visiting. Archæological enquiries have been prosecuted by me since the establishment of the archæological survey in India, not merely without heart-burning, but with pleasure in every part of India I have been sent to, with the single exception of the province of Orissa and such adjacent places where Uriyas resided in any considerable numbers. The character of the Uriya-speaking people as a body combines the most abject servility with a vindictively vengeful disposition; truth is a stranger to them; experience taught me, during the two seasons when my orders compelled me to go into that province, that the people would not even give correct information as to roads, and that in selecting the track to any place it was greatly more safe to follow precisely the one that was said to be the worst, and when in doubt at the junction of two diverging lines which to adopt, the one which the people declared did not go in the required direction was precisely the one which was the shortest and best route to the desired point. In this province it is not a virtue for the traveller to adopt the Christian maxim of turning his left cheek to the smiter of his right; it is a necessity if he does not choose to be detained in tedious litigation in the courts of law. Female morality is in this province held cheaper than in any other part of India I have yet seen; and although the men make exceedingly jealous husbands, they make very accommodating relatives. The women have a great deal of vivacity and more truthfulness, or should I rather say they have not the talent of inventing falsehoods at such short notice as the men. In chastity they are lax; but this is due rather to their male relatives, who lead them into conjugal infidelity, than to any innate or constitutional depravity.

In physique the men possess thin weak effeminate bodies, and, when young, effeminate features; they are seldom tall, more often short, but generally about 5 feet 4 inches in height; the colour is dark; darker than is usual even in Lower Bengal; they bear a closer resemblance to the lower classes of Lower Bengal and the people of the Dekkan than to the inhabitants of Hindustan proper. If physique be any criterion of race, I should class the Uriyas with the Dravidian, not the Aryan races; in the same category I would place the mass of the people of Lower Bengal; but while in Bengal the higher classes have decidedly Aryan features, and have in so far a fair claim to Aryan descent, the upper classes of Orissa have but little of Aryan features. My judgment must necessarily be a hasty one, as my stay in the entire province has been very short, but it is of use as showing the general impression produced on a casual visitor; those who have lived there and become familiar with their language, their manners, and customs, and familiarized themselves with their features, have better ground to judge upon, and I shall be ready to subordinate my own opinions, based on scanty knowledge, to theirs.

The women bear even a closer resemblance to the women of Bengal; they are far from being ugly, and in so far as delicate physique and a fine pair of eyes constitute beauty, they possess it to an eminent degree. In dress and in ornaments for the person they closely resemble the Bengalis, and differ widely from their neighbours in Chhatisgarh, whose dress and ornaments resemble those in use in Magadha, or Magha, as it is now termed; even in the mode of carrying their water-jars they resemble the Bengalis, so that, but for the language, there would be no perceptible difference between them and their sisters of Lower Bengal; but even the language, though different, is closely allied to the Bengali, so much so that although I do not know a word of the Uriya language, I could both understand and make myself understood, the difference, so far as I could make out in actual conversation, amounting to a difference of accent and a variation of the terminations and inflections, rather than to any radical difference in the words themselves. How far their language resembles the Telugu I am not in a position to state. To the stranger, both apparently have the same sound, both differ from the Hindustani (as does Bengali also) chiefly in the invariable use of the sound *o* in place of the short *a*; but beyond this I think there is little resem-

blance, for I could not understand a word of the Telugu. Even in the modes of expression, and therefore presumably in the modes of thought, the people of Orissa resemble those of Lower Bengal; in their proverbs, their terms of abuse and endearment, and their expletives, they closely resemble each other. I must before closing do the women of Orissa the justice to say that I have found them invariably much more truthful than the men; my dealings with both sexes were confined chiefly to enquiries as to the roads, and experience soon taught me that while I must regularly disbelieve the statements of the men, I could with perfect safety depend on the information given by women; true they were shy, and if a countryman of theirs happened to be within hearing, it was hopeless to get a word from them in reply to any question; but when not within hearing of their male countrymen, they were not only not unwilling to give me the required directions as to my routes, but even volunteered information regarding the places *en route*, where provisions could be purchased or tents pitched with convenience and comfort. The laxity of their morals I attribute to their male relatives, who for money or with other objects do not hesitate to induce any of their female relatives (other than their own wives) to permit improprieties, if it can be done without the knowledge of the husbands; and the universal custom of marrying young, and leaving the girls in their fathers' houses till they become of age, greatly facilitates the disgraceful practice, for it often happens that the husband cannot (on account of distance or want of means) claim and carry off his wife to his own house immediately when she becomes of age, and she, listening to her relatives and prompted by her own passions, is easily induced to overstep the limits of morality.

In strong contrast to the Uriyas are their neighbours, the Khands (who call themselves Kuhis) to the south-west, and the Kolarian tribes on the north. The Khands are, both men and women, well built, robust, and active, rather shorter than the Uriyas in height, but far stronger; they are as dark as the Uriyas, but while the Khand women are almost invariably as dark as the men, there are many Uriya women who are not nearly so dark as the men; the features of both men and women are flat and broad, but in form and person the women are, as a body, the finest I have seen anywhere in India; in morality too the women of the Khand mahals are a strong contrast to their sisters of Orissa. I am told, how-

ever, that of late, and especially in the large villages where the police and trades-people from the low country are located, there is unmistakeable evidence from the hospital records of an alarming progress in immorality; this is true not only of the Khand mahals, but of the Kolarian districts to the north of Orissa also. Much has been written by the able Collector, Mr. Dalton, and by others, in praise of the chastity of the women of the Kolarian races, and it has been inferred thencefrom that the women of the Kolarian and other aboriginal tribes are in some occult way superior in morality to the women of the adjoining lowlands, and similarly are the men credited with the virtues of bravery, hospitality, and truthfulness. I have lived a year and half in Manbhoom, and have necessarily, as an officer of the Public Works and therefore as the largest employer of labour in the district, had special facilities of studying the character of the Kolarian tribes; bravery and hospitality they certainly possess, but the latter is *seldom evinced towards those from whom the men either have no expectations, or towards whom they entertain no dread or affection;* my observations tend to prove that their virtues have their origin in want of imagination. Bravery, for instance, consists not merely in facing danger, but in facing danger *with a full knowledge of what the consequences are likely to be:* this appreciation of the consequences is essentially due to the imagination vividly presenting the consequences to the mind; where the imagination is not sufficiently vivid, the consequences are obviously not presented with that vividness to the mind which is necessary to produce an impression sufficient to overcome the feelings or the excitements which incite to the commission of the act of so-called bravery. To decide, therefore, on the question of bravery it is necessary first to have at least an approximate estimate of the power of imagination of the person whose bravery is the subject of our decision; the very circumstance of the truthfulness of the tribes in question proves their low powers of imagination if sufficient and overwhelming proof of it were not already afforded by their singular backwardness in every single art that requires its exercise; to maintain that a race possesses an innate love of truth when we know for a fact that the race has scarcely an idea of God, and necessarily, therefore, none of ethics, is a begging of the question. To utter a falsehood may appear a very simple matter, but there are few things so difficult, if immediate detection and exposure are to be avoided; the Kolarian races tell fewer untruths from the

circumstance that they have not the vivid imagination necessary to utter and *support* the falsehood; where a falsehood could be uttered with supposed impunity, I have found them as ready to do so as any lowlander.

A small volume could easily be filled in proving that the tribes in question are deficient in imagination; this is not the place to attempt it, nor can I suppose that any one who takes an interest in the question needs such proofs: enough if I point to the utter ignorance of these races of all arts that need its exercise with magnificent temples and exquisite sculpture under their noses. The aboriginal tribes from the Suars and Bhils of Rajputana to the Gours and Kols of Rewa, the Kolarian tribes of Chutia Nagpur and the Khands of Orissa,—not one has ever attempted to rebuild a single temple out of ready-made materials,. much less to execute original works; their highest attempts at sculpture are confined to the wooden caricatures set up and reverenced by them; their greatest attempts at painting are the daubs of white and red ochre on the walls of their huts; they do not even possess a written language, and their songs, such as they have, contain no imagery. Is it possible such people possess a vivid imagination? Want of a vivid imagination being established as a characteristic of the aboriginal tribes, the bravery, and truthfulness, and chastity[1] follow as natural consequences, but they are no longer *virtues*, being founded, not on a sense of morality, but on a defect of intellect; the natural and inevitable consequence is that as soon as the defect is remedied, or an equivalent supplied, these qualities disappear; it is thus that I account for the rapid progress of demoralization in these tribes. Let them but learn from a lowlander how to cheat, and they do not hesitate to make use of their knowledge; let them feel assured that a certain act entails infallible punishment more than balancing the pleasure, and they immediately give it up and become docile. Feminine frailty is also pre-eminently a result of vivid imagination; the woman clothes a certain person with attributes she loves, and having done so straightway falls in love, not with the man as he is, but with the man as he appears in her imagi-

[1] In regard to chastity in particular, I beg to refer to the accounts of the privileges as regards intercourse with females of the "Meriahs," or men reserved for sacrifice, as well as the accounts of the promiscuous intercourse of boys and girls among the various aboriginal tribes, in almost all writers who have written on them both unofficially and officially in the Government Selections, and the reports of Government Surveyors; also to my report for 1872-73.

nation; it is obvious she cannot clothe her husband with the imaginary attributes, as she knows him far too well to be able to do it, but a comparative stranger can readily be so clothed; but if she has not a vivid imagination or sufficient power of abstraction, she naturally cannot do so, and consequently, not falling in love with any one else, remains true to her husband. But although she may not have the power of abstraction necessary to clothe with the qualities or graces she loves one who does not really possess them, it is evident that if a man actually possessed of them should appear on the scene, the chances are she will be attracted towards him more than towards her husband; hence it is that only where lowland traders or well-dressed police officials are stationed, there alone the women become unchaste; for it cannot be doubted that a civilized lowlander has, on an average, handsome features, better clothing, a more persuasive eloquence, due to his greater knowledge both of the physical world and of the world of letters or imaginative world than the aborigines; and, finally, the lowlander has more wealth; the only point an ordinary lowlander fails in is strength, but even in strength the picked men of the lowland police are no whit inferior to the men of the jangals.

It is with regret I demolish the fairy castles resting on the assumed high moral virtues of the aboriginal tribes, but justice and truth demand that I should expose the true origin of so-called virtues. The only true path of progress for the aboriginal tribes is, first, a cultivation of the imaginative faculties in which they are especially deficient; until this is done, it is impossible in the very nature of the case that they can ever compete even on terms of equality with races having greater powers of imagination, or that they can ever make any real advance in civilisation.

A great deal of interesting information regarding the Khands is to be found in Captain MacPherson's work[1] to which I refer. There is a very material difference in physique between the Khands, the Gours of Central India, and the Kolarian tribes; the Gours are by far the weakest and least attractive (both men and women) of the three; they are also the dirtiest in their habits and the laziest, and from what I personally saw, more given to drink than either of the others; they are to be found all over Central India from the western limits of Bundelkhand to the eastern limits of Rewa and even

[1] The Khands of Orissa, by Captain J. C. MacPherson: London, 1852.

in the western districts of Chutia Nagpur, and from the Ganges on the north to the forests of Chanda on the south; but they clearly muster strongest in the vicinity of the Narmmada River. The Kolarian tribes are confined exclusively within the limits of Chutia Nagpur, except the branch in the so-called south pargana and the Kol Muasis of Rewa, who, I suppose, are a branch of the Kols of Chutia Nagpur. The Khands, who call themselves Kuhis, are also to be met with exclusively in the Khand mahals, a tract of most picturesque but wild hilly country, south of the Mahanadi below Sonpur. There is, however, a tribe of aborigines who are to be found all through the territories occupied both by Gours and Khands; these are the Sawars in Bundelkhand and the south-eastern parts of the Gwalior territory, and in the Rewa State, and also in the south-western districts of Chutia Nagpur and the eastern districts of the Central Provinces, they occur in numbers, culminating and indeed almost exclusively occupying the entire district known as Suarmar in the Central Provinces, and the districts adjoining it in the Madras Presidency known as the Saura Malia. There would thus appear to be grounds for supposing that the Sauras are the earliest aboriginal race over whom have swept successive waves, not merely of Aryan invasions, but also of earlier Turaman invasions; these men approach more closely the Gour in physique and habits than any other tribe, and from my limited observations I should say they are even more degraded than the Gours; and if degradation be a sign of length of servitude and oppression, this is the race clearly entitled to the rank of having been the earliest settlers in this part at least of India, and of having been consequently longer in subjection; next would come the Gours. The Kolarian races and the Khands are far in advance of either of these in national and individual spirit and enterprise; and even between these the Khand is the superior of the Kolarians, not only in physique, but in spirit and enterprise, and therefore, presumably, the descendants of the latest wane of Turanian immigrants into Northern India. The tribes of Keonjhar appear to be the connecting link between the Gours and the Kolarian races, superior to the former but inferior to the latter in enterprise and spirit, the surest signs of the length of period of servitude. On the Kolarian races and the Juangs of the Keonjhar Colonel Dalton's is the standard work, but on the unfortunate Gours there are few writers, and such detached notices of them as exist are to be found in the Gazetteers of Bundelkhand and

the Central Provinces, in the various settlement reports of the Central Provinces officers, and in the publications of the Nagpore Archæological Society. On the still more unfortunate Suars or Saoras no one has condescended to write, but I believe General Cunningham, who has been the first to point out, so far as I am aware, their importance, is collecting materials to write some account of them; it is not, however, from travellers, however observant, that accounts of them beyond mere sketches can be obtained; this to be properly done must be undertaken by intelligent and observing residents, who alone in a long course of residence have the opportunity of studying the language, habits, manners, customs, and, above all, the modes of thinking of the race.

Tradition asserts that the Khands were once masters of the fertile plains of Gumseer, though now confined (but not exclusively) to the hilly parts. The Khand country had twelve chiefs, two reigned at Kulada, named Kulla and Daha, two reigned at Bajragada, Bajra, and Gada. Raja Kesari reigned at Malti, and his territories included the now famous fort of Jauguda; other chiefs reigned at Nunipara and Goribandh, Gumsur and Vishnu Chakram. I could not obtain a complete list of the chiefs. These twelve chiefs reigned jointly, for, although each held separate districts, they united together in all questions affecting the entire country: their territories extended to Bod on the north. The present Raja of Gumsur is of the Moharbhanj family. A certain king of Moharbhanj had many children; unable to provide for all of them, he directed them to seek their fortunes in foreign lands. Banamali Bhanj and Haridra Bhanj (two of them) went and took service under the Rajah of Bod, a Brahman, and having ingratiated themselves with him and with his only son, they induced the young prince to accompany them in a hunting excursion, and treacherously slew him. The father died of grief and they seized the country; but unable to agree between themselves, they determined to conquer other territories, and Banamali Bhanj invaded the Khand districts, and having killed Kulla and Daha, the Khand chiefs of Kulada, they seized his territory and divided it among themselves; the chiefs, however, while expiring, laid a fearful curse on them in case the conquerors should not adopt their names and their customs: hence it is that the Khand chiefs, although of the Mayurabhanja family, have Khand names and observe the Khand customs. It is said that the whole of modern Daspala and Gumsur

once formed a part of the territory of the Raja of Bod,[1] who conferred it on ten of his chieftains, whence the name Daspala. These chieftains subsequently revolted, and are now independent of the Bod Raja. The Moharbhanj family have many branches in these parts, among whom the chiefs of Daspala are reckoned the most powerful. A history of the Mayurabhanj (Moharbhanj) family and of its branches would, I have no doubt, throw much light on the tangled questions of the origin of the petty Rajas hereabouts. That the Moharbhanj family were once very powerful, there cannot be any reason for doubting, and although the speculation appears wild, it is not impossible that this family may have been descended from Asoka himself, who, we know, was a Maurya,—so called, perhaps, from being of the Mayura family. I throw out the suggestion, not as one which I have any evidence to support, but as a mere speculation, the investigation of which may throw light on the obscure annals of an obscure but once locally powerful family.

39.—GUMSUR.

There are numerous architectural objects of interest in the district of Gumsur, but few of any antiquity. I visited the reputed old temples at Kulada, at Gumsur, at Rasalkunda, and at Vishnu Chakram, and found them all modern, most frequently enshrining the hideous statues of Jagarnnatha, Balabhodra, and Subhadra, painted in staring colours, with the probable intention, in which it is eminently successful, of adding to the repulsive and terrific appearance of their unearthly forms. I also had Ballughunta and Bodraguda examined, but found them to contain nothing of archæological interest. It is said that more ancient remains are to be found at Baguda on the Baguva (Bhargaul ?) River, a tributary of the Rishikulya; and my informant especially mentioned a figure of Surya or Aditya there as having been brought from Buri Khol, a deep valley, as the name indicates, almost surrounded by hills not far from Baguda, and close to the village of Koimo. The hills are said to have numerous caves excavated in them, and it is reported that there are five temples on the hills and four temples below, at the foot, close to a spring and a waterfall; but I had been so uniformly disappointed in the places I had already visited on the strength of similar information, that I did not go there, wishing to get other

[1] See Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI, on the Gumsur copper-plates.

more reliable evidence of the existence of antiquities from the civil officers of the district, who however, I found on enquiring, had not heard of any remains at the place. It is barely possible that there may be remains of archæological interest at Buri Khol, though I am not very sanguine of the correctness of my information.

40.—NYAGARH; JAUGADA.

There are said to be some temples also at or near Suliá Hill in the Nyagarh State, to the north-east of Gumsur; but I did not visit them. The only remains of antiquity that I did find in Gumsur were in the village of Malti and in the now famous fort of Jaugada or Janogarh. This last is an old quadrangular earthen fort, nearly square, with two entrances in each face, or eight entrances in all. The fort was originally surrounded by a wide and deep moat, whence, no doubt, the earth was dug up to form the ramparts. The moat was not continuous, unexcavated slips being left at the various entrances for ingress and egress. The walls had towers, also of earth, at each of the four corners, and also on each flank of each of the eight entrances. All these still exist, though of course the rain of centuries has reduced them now to high, shapeless mounds in continuation of, but slightly elevated above, the line of ramparts. The moat has got greatly filled in, but so great was its depth and extent that to this day they are more than 7 feet deep towards the middle, but how much more I had no means of ascertaining; and they form respectable lotus-covered marshes, in which wild duck and water-fowl swim secure from danger, for though they may be shot readily enough, the lotus-covered marsh is too dangerous to send swimmers out to secure them. The walls are exclusively of earth: I excavated trenches in them right down to the ground level without finding anything but earth; but it is remarkable that the earth showed two very distinct strata, one of a hard very compact yellowish earth, and one of a decidedly darker tint, and friable, presenting an appearance of sponginess which struck me as remarkable. Some bricks were turned up, but they appeared stray or accidental ones, and formed no continuous line of walls or integral part of the ramparts or towers. The appearance of the spongy earth no doubt gave to the fort its well-known name of "Janagarh," or lac fort, for the earth resembled closely in appearance the crude lac as collected by the people for sale to the lac merchants. I can

account for it only on the supposition that this friable earth is the top soil from the excavated moat, which in the natural course of construction would be thrown down and remain at the bottom of the earthen rampart. Over this came the harder and firmer clay obtained from a lower level of the moat, and therefore possessing few vegetable matters; this being a stiff, hard clay, naturally after a few showers formed an impervious waterproof covering over the lower core of the top soil, which therefore remained dry throughout. The vegetable fibres in it gradually decómposed, and water not being able to penetrate to it, it remained in the loose friable and spongy condition which such soil would naturally have assumed if it had been subjected to gradual heat just enough to slowly carbonise the vegetable tissue in it, and vaporise the combined ammonia and water. A rough examination showed some lime (probably from contained kankar) in the hard clay, but little in the spongy earth.

Within the fort are two tanks, one, a square one with built ghâts and walls and the remains of a chhatri, or small temple, in the middle; the other, a plain one without any masonry work. Neither are of any large size or interest; but if they could be baled dry and excavated, ancient remains in the shape of coin, statues, and vessels of earth and metal would no doubt be recovered, for there can be no doubt that in ancient times, as now, these tanks—being the only ones within the fort, with the exception of a couple of wells—must have been extensively used by the inhabitants. I dug a few desultory trenches in spots within the fort, which promised to be of interest; but the result only showed either that the ancient remains, if any exist, are buried deeper than I thought, or (what is more probable) that whatever remains did exist were of earth, not stone. There are numerous brickbats, and fragments of pottery literally cover some parts of the level ground within the fort; but I came upon no lines of walls or brick work *in situ*, nor on any sculptured stone. Scorpions abound in the place, some of formidable size.

Within the fort are two prominent groups of bare rocks. On the larger, which has a tolerably level terrace at about half the height, a modern jogi has built a comfortable brick-and-plaster bungalow from the brickbats found in the spot. Behind the jogi's house rise up the rocks, bare and straight, and on a part of the face of these rocks are inscribed the edicts of Asoka. Stories are current of attempts having been made with partial success by a European, deliberately to

destroy the writing by throwing on the face of the rock water in which gram was being boiled; but there does not appear any grounds for believing any such story, as, in the first instance, I do not believe boiling gram water would cause the stone to peel off; and secondly, no European would, I feel sure, commit such an act of wanton vandalism in such an absurd way when he could have done it much more easily in many other ways. Captain Kittoe mentions in one of his letters (Vol. VI, Journal Asiatic Society, page 708) that he had heard of an inscription covering 270 square feet, which had been covered up with plaster to save it from the misguided zeal of antiquarians; and I feel almost certain that he refers to this great inscription—be this as it may, the fact is beyond dispute that a great deal of the inscription has peeled off. I found great difficulty in obtaining impressions of it, from the passive resistance of the people in the neighbouring villages (who are, of course, under the impression that it is a record of the whereabouts of vast hidden treasure), notwithstanding the fact of my having received parwanas and authority, not only from the Magistrate, but from the immediate local officer, the tehsildar of Purshottampur, and notwithstanding the circumstance of Mr. Maltby, one of the executive magisterial officers of the district, being with me on the spot for a day. At length, however, all difficulties were overcome, and the necessary copies and photographs taken. I must do the jogi the justice to say that he not only placed no obstruction in my way, but even assisted me, and seemed to take great interest in my operations when he found that I could read the inscription. It is needless for me to say anything further in regard to this inscription, as it will be fully noticed in General Cunningham's forthcoming work on Indian inscriptions—a work which, if the author be spared to complete it, will furnish a mass of information based exclusively on the unimpeachable records of inscriptions, such as has never before been laid before the learned world; and which, being illustrated, (not by copies, but by absolute facsimiles or photographs), will leave it in the power of each orientalist to judge for himself, and not depend on the readings or renderings of any individual, how high soever in the ranks of orientalists. When we remember how often even the great Prinsep has been misled in his readings—to say nothing of his renderings—of numerous inscriptions, and how fiercely orientalists dispute over the readings of various words—to say nothing of their differences of meanings in non-mechanical copies of inscriptions, to

which alone they have access in most cases—and how liable all of us are to error in copying by hand, either from unavoidable causes, or from avoidable but unsuspected prejudices in favour of particular readings, it will not be difficult to appreciate the value of such a work as that undertaken by General Cunningham, which, laying before us mechanical copies of the records, will eliminate all errors incidental to the individual failings or prejudices of their collectors, and leave each to judge for himself with as much certainty and with greater comfort and convenience as if the records themselves were present before him. The abnegation of self in thus laying before us the means of convicting the author, whenever he may go astray, is worthy of all praise, and I can the more readily avow my admiration of this conduct from the circumstance that my frequent opposition of his views, in my previous papers, must exonerate me from the charge of being unduly subservient to him, or biased in his favour.

Tradition ascribes the erection of the fort to Raja Kesari (not Lalitendra Kesari, of Orissa, but a Khand). It says that the fort was made of lac, in order that cannon-balls and missiles discharged against it should be held within it by the tenacious nature of the lac, and not injure the defendants either by passing through or scattering fragments of the rampart around. It is said that the Raja of this fort had a dispute with the Raja of Raolapalli, now a small village about 3 miles south-east, and on the banks of the Rishikulya, who accordingly came down and besieged the fort. The defendants were by no means afraid, as they were quite confident in the strength and peculiar virtues of the lac walls of their fort, in which each missile burying itself only rendered it stronger. Long the enemy sat round the fort without being able to breach the walls. One day a milkwoman came within the enemy's lines to sell milk, it is said oddly enough, from within the fort; but the soldiers, instead of paying her for her milk, seized it without payment. The indignant milkwoman exclaimed—"Oh! brave warriors, you are ready to oppress a poor woman, and call yourselves men; if you are men, indeed, why don't you take the fort, which is so easy of capture?" She was seized and carried to the chief, who induced her to disclose the secret of the fort being made of lac. "Bring plenty of fire and bellows, and apply to the walls, and you will soon see the walls disappear." Her advice was acted upon immediately; fire and bellows were brought, and the fort walls began to melt. Raja Kesari

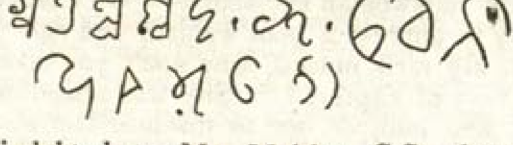
hearing this was in despair. He cursed the traitor who had betrayed the secret; "May the traitor turn to stone," he said, and repairing to the breach sword in hand was slain. The woman meanwhile was returning to the fort; when the curse was uttered she immediately turned to stone, and stands to this day! The transformed woman is nothing more or less than a Sati pillar, not even sculptured into the form of a woman, now standing on the south side near the south-west gateway of the south face of the fort. It is said that a large quantity of coins were found buried at its foot some years ago, when a European official from Ganjam dug it up—some of gold and silver, but many of copper. I could get none of the gold and silver coins, but I got a few copper ones much defaced. They were evidently Indo-Scythian, and thus confirm the great antiquity of the place, and incidentally prove the great influence of the Indo-Scythians in India when even their copper currency is found so remote from their capital.

41.—RAOLAPALLI.

At Raolapalli, on the top of a small isolated rocky hill, is a small modern temple approached by steps; but there lie some cut stones at the foot of the hill, and also on the top and among the steps leading up, which prove that here was a temple of cut stone, moderately ornamented, in ancient times. In the absence of sufficient data, I do not venture to assign it to any epoch with confidence; but I think it may without much risk of error be assigned to the same period as the temple at Chandeswar.

42.—ASKA.

There are several temples in Aska, but none appear ancient. Mr. Minchin kindly sent me a copy of an inscription from one; it is in the transition Uriya characters—



I was indebted to Mr. Maltby, C.S., for two sets of copper-plates, one of three and one of two plates, which I sent to General Cunningham, and will no doubt be noticed by him.

The village boys near Janagarh brought me a stone which they said they had found near the square tank, and between it and the hill which contains the inscription. I cannot divine its use, but the plate will give a plan and section of it. The stone was 6 inches long by 4½ broad and 2 inches thick.

43.—MALTI.

A few miles north of Aska is a short low range of hills, running almost parallel to the road from Gumsur and about a mile from it, and another shorter and smaller rocky, isolated hill parallel to it and closer to the road; between these is the small village Malti; at the eastern foot of the small hill is a raised earthen embankment, enclosing the eastern foot and joining on to two spurs projecting from the hill, forming an irregular trapezoid; it is known as the garh or garh bandha of Raja Kesari. To the east of it is a mound of brick, now dug out, leaving only brickbats and rubbish, said to be the ruins of a temple; from here the villagers assert one or more statues or sculptured figures were carried off many years ago by a Raja to Kulada and Baguda. About 500 feet to the north of this, and near the foot of a spur from the main range, is another brick mound, the ruins apparently of another temple; three flower-trees which grow amidst the ruins are pointed out as proofs of its having been a temple, the flower-trees being said to have been in the outer courtyard of the temple. Half a mile to the west of this is a large square mound, also of brick, said to have been the katchari; it is called "Jagoto," or Jagata. This mound is evidently the ruins of a large temple which once stood here on a raised terrace; to the south-west of this, and at a short distance from it, is an old well built entirely of bricks cut or moulded to shape; the brick lining of the well, a fine large one, is said to have been dug out some few years ago by the local officers, and the well is now ready to fall in; what possible object could have been gained by digging out the lining of this fine well and thus destroying it I cannot imagine; it deprives the villagers of a fine old well, and they were evidently much aggrieved at the wanton destruction of this source of water. Quarter of a mile to the west of this is a brick mound, said to have been a temple of brick and stone, and from the existence of several fragments of stone mouldings, I am satisfied the villagers were correct; but it is evident from all this that the destruction of at least some of the remains in this place dates to no distant period, and is evidently within the memory of living young

men, for my guide and his companions were not old men. I found the people extremely reluctant in showing me or mentioning the remains of ancient times in and near their village, from an evident dread that I was on the look-out for bricks. The buildings destroyed owed their destruction, I was told, to the bricks being needed for some Government work. Altogether a space of a mile in length by half a mile in width is dotted over with small mounds, of which those I have mentioned are the principal. The antiquity of the buildings is attested by the size of the bricks, which are 18 inches in length by 12 inches in breadth and 3 in depth; the cut bricks of the well were also 18 inches in length and 3 in thickness; one end of the width measured 12 inches and the other 9 inches.

Notwithstanding liberal offers of remuneration, I could not get any of the villagers to excavate the mounds, nor would they hear of the mounds being excavated by labour brought from elsewhere. I was accordingly compelled with reluctance to give up all hope of making excavations in this very promising locality.

44.—BOD.

Going now northwards through the unrivalled scenery of the Karmingia Ghat and the Khand country, we arrive at Bod, on the south bank of the Mahanadi; here are a number of small but exquisitely finished temples; the existing ones are all in one group within an inclosure; contrary to the usual bigoted habits of the Uriya Brahmins, access to the court-yard of the temple is not denied. The principal shrine is a comparatively modern erection well plastered over, consisting of a sanctum, a Mahamandapa, and a portico; in short it is a complete temple, and possibly is only an ancient one repaired; it is dedicated to Rameswara, faces east, and is surrounded by no less than nine small shrines, all in decay and all of about the same age. Of course I was not allowed to approach too close to the sacred shrine, but I was sufficiently thankful to have been allowed access even into the court-yard.

Besides this great shrine there are three smaller isolated temples, which have not been covered with plaster or repaired, and which, therefore, now stand with all the beauty of their elaborate carving; so hard and durable is the stone, that the carvings appear nearly as sharp as the day they were executed; the colour too, a deep purplish red, adds in no small

degree to the beauty. Each of these temples stands by itself on a raised platform, and each consists of a cell and its attached portico only. The plan will show the minute recesses and angularities in plan which produce so charming an effect in the variety of light and shade, and confer an appearance of greater height from the continued clusters of vertical lines than they really possess, but it will be noticed that they are very small. In regard to the elevation, it is in the usual style of the elevations of the single-celled types common in Bengal, of which the ones at Barâkar may be taken as fair types; but I cannot do justice to the elaborate carving which literally covers the temple from crown to base without the aid of photographs of the temples. One faces west and two face east; they have all a group of the Navagrahas over the entrance, and as they are considered subordinate in sanctity to the great temple of Râmeswara, I was allowed to approach and take a plan of one of them. These temples are planned on the principle of intersecting squares laid down by Fergusson as the most common type of the plan of mediæval temples in India. Really this form of intersecting squares is very rare, as may be seen on comparison of such plans as have yet been obtained; they are certainly extremely beautiful, and though small they are gems of art in their own humble way. I cannot assign to them any great age; the ninth century is the earliest which may safely be assigned to them, and when we remember that most of the temples of Orissa (some of them inscribed and, therefore, not uncertain in date) are of this period and show a remarkable predilection for the Navagraha, I think there will be no reasonable doubt in assigning these to that period also, an age not inconsistent with the elaborate and profuse minute ornamentation bestowed on them, or the general outline and disposition of the plan and façade.

There are a few ruins, but none of sufficient importance to arrest attention or promise results of much interest in the vicinity; of these some are of brick. There is an old earthen fort within which the Raja's palace is situated; it is defended by deep ditches and thick walls of earth planted with bamboo and strong against assault; but if old, there is nothing to mark its age, or to render it of sufficient interest to make it worth while speculating as to its probable age.

45.—CHANDRAPUR.

About 10 miles west of Bod and 1½ mile north of he road from Sonpur to Katak are said to be several

temples situated near a large marshy tank; the adjacent village is called Chandrapur. I went out shooting here, but saw none, nor were my men successful in seeing or hearing of any, although I particularly directed them to make enquiries, as from the existence of such a large sheet of water, I expected to find remains of ancient times. I was, however, assured, after I had left the place and reached Bod, that there were several small temples. If they indeed exist, I am very sorry I did not hear of them, or come upon them while on the spot.

46.—SONPUR.

Sonpur contains numerous temples, but I saw nothing which I could pitch upon as a relic of ancient architecture. Some of the temples appear comparatively modern and the remainder were built within the memory of living men.

HOT SPRINGS.

I must not omit to mention a place of great importance to the boatmen plying on the Mahânadi. On the northern bank of the river, about 15 miles below Bod, are some hot springs and a tirath, chiefly frequented, I was told, by boatmen; in the vicinity is a celebrated shrine visited by numerous pilgrims; I did not see the place.

Following now the course of the Tel River up from Sonpur, there are numerous places of interest on the banks.

47.—BAMNI.

The first place of importance is Bamni, on the right bank of the river going up; there are some temples here, but of no great antiquity or interest.

RAJAPADAR.

Higher up on the extreme tongue of land jutting out at the junction of the Utai Nadi with the Tel are a number of ruins of great interest and undoubted high antiquity. The principal one is a large ruined brick temple, which in its original state included a large sanctum, a vestibule, a mahamandapa of large size, a mandapa and an arddha mandapa or portico; the entire superstructure is so completely gone that the remains of the walls of the sanctum are now covered with thatch, which now forms the only shelter of the sanctum

and of the mahamandapa from the weather. In front of the temple appears to have been an inclosed court-yard, so that the whole in plan formed, so far as can now be judged, the nearest approach to the temple of Râma Chandra in Sirpur (Savaripura) on the Mahânadi, with this only exception that whereas the Sirpur temple is small, and possessed of only a sanctum and its attached antarala, this was a complete temple of a large size.

The mahamandapa was supported partly on pillars and pilasters, which last were ornamented with life-sized sculptures of either men or divinities. I cannot speak too highly of the quality of the sculpture; although executed in an extremely soft yellowish sandstone, and consequently greatly worn and injured by time and weather, still, from what little remains, there is no doubt that they were executed in the best style of Hindu art with a breadth of conception and a depth of execution which we vainly look for in the productions of later ages. They approach most nearly in execution and design the superb sculptures at Râjam, at Savaripura (Sirpur), at Seorinârâyan, and especially at Kharod, in the Central Provinces. One sculpture, the only one that yet preserves some portion of its original beauty, represents a life-sized female under a royal canopy and standing on what (though from the excessive mutilation I cannot be quite certain) appears to have been a tortoise. This sculpture adorned the right jamb of the entrance to the sanctum. The researches of General Cunningham in other quarters, which, however, cannot be more than barely alluded to here, but which will doubtless be dwelt upon at length in his report for 1876-77, has established beyond the possibility of doubt that this figure represents the goddess of the Jamuna, or is a personification of the holy Jamuna, and that the introduction of this and of its corresponding figure on the left jamb with their symbols, came into vogue with the rise of the Guptas, and ceased, so far as has been yet ascertained, certainly before the eighth century of our era. Confined at first to the wings of the entrances near the top, they subsequently descended into the lower part of the door jamb, where they were in after ages replaced by other figures and multiplied from a single pair to three and even four pairs of figures. It is a matter of extreme regret to me that I have not hitherto paid that attention to these figures in temples examined by me which they deserve and demand; but this importance was then unknown, and there was then nothing to show that they

formed an infallible criterion of the age of the building where they appeared. I do not now remember, nor do my notes or photographs show, what are the figures that ornament the jambs of the entrances to temples in even so few as 5 per cent. of the temples examined by me, before their importance was discovered by General Cunningham. This is but one more instance of what I have in a previous paper said, that it is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge of the governing principles of ancient Indian art, to discriminate with any close approach to thoroughness between features (constructive or ornamental) which are, and which are not, of importance; doubtless our knowledge is yearly increasing, but the inevitable consequence of the present and past ignorance must be that the same buildings will have to be visited once again with the increased knowledge, and perhaps yet once more, before we can venture to claim more than a very superficial knowledge of the *principles* of Indian architecture.

To return, however, to the ruins at Rajapodar (*podor* is the equivalent of *grama* in this part of India), the sculpture noticed proves, as does the cold design and execution, that the temple which it adorned must date to a period certainly anterior to the eighth century of our era. So strongly am I impressed with the excellence of the sculpture, that I do not think it at all an exaggeration of age to ascribe it to the sixth century of our era.

The temple just noticed was of brick and faced east; it was undoubtedly Saivic, as the ruins of a small temple built also of brick and sacred to Nandi still exists in a shapeless mound in front of and facing it; the whole of the walls were certainly built of brick, the only parts where stone was employed being the pillars, architraves, and doorways. What sort of a roof the temple had it is now no longer possible to ascertain. From the absence of amalakas within the temple ruins, and the existence of long slabs of stone, I am inclined to think a part of it at least was flat-roofed, but it is quite possible that the sanctum had a tower roof, for though no amalakas lie within some lie about, though at a short distance from the ruins, and may have belonged to this temple. There are several carved bricks in the heap, and the existence of most beautiful and elaborately sculptured projecting brackets are attested by the fragment of a single solitary one I found in the ruins (which by-the-way are full of snakes). The existence of a single medallion sculpture and also of numerous *masses*

of bricks cut on the outside to a circular curve, and therefore unquestionably the intermediate amalakas which in all sculptured brick towers adorn the salient angles, induces me to think that the temple had a tower roof, in which alone such medallions and such cut brick, so far as I can call to mind, find place; but without a careful examination with the aid of excavations, - for which a magisterial order is absolutely indispensable wherever Uriya Brahmans are to be found, it is mere guess work to speculate on the exact form of roof this temple had.

But whatever it may have been like in external appearance originally, there can be no doubt that it was subsequently extensively repaired, not once but twice, as I found bricks among the ruins of three different sizes, *viz.*, 14 inches by $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; 12 inches by 8 by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and 9 inches by $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The existence of these three varieties of bricks shows, judging from examples elsewhere, that the largest bricks are the oldest; the next set represents repairs undertaken most probably in the ninth or tenth century, when from the abundance of temples in various parts both of Orissa and the Central Provinces, and indeed in all parts of India, there can be no doubt that a great religious revival took place. The smallest bricks must have been used for still later repairs, and the existence of what looked vastly like mortar (of which I laid by a small quantity for analysis, but which has unfortunately been lost in transit) between the joints, especially of the bricks cut to a circular curve on the outer edge, and which consequently I regard as portions of the subordinate amalakas, leads me to place the execution of the last repairs at a period after the Muhammadan conquest of the province of Orissa, prior to which there are indeed undoubted instances of the knowledge and use of lime, both as a covering for the surfaces, as for spreading on the floors in a thin hard layer, but of the use of which, mixed with brick-dust as a binding material between the different courses of the building material, there is not a single authenticated example throughout the entire extent of India.

But although this last repair undoubtedly took place in the past Muhammadan period, it is equally plain that it was confined to the superstructure and involved no alteration of the plan of the building, for the whole of such of the walls as exist—and it must be evident, from what I have already said, that they exist only up to a small height above ground—are laid exclusively in mud cement; enough, however, of the

walls do not exist above ground to enable a plan to be made out; and my statement that the temple possessed originally a sanctum and the various appendages usual in the larger temples of the ninth century, must be taken rather as an impression conveyed by the extent of the ruins than as based on any definite grounds, for with the Uriya Brahmans jealously obstructing me it would have been impossible to have executed the necessary excavations to ascertain the true plan. On one point I am, however, quite positive, that the outside was not broken into the infinity of projections and recesses which characterise the beautiful temples of Khojuraha and Udaipur. The pillars and architraves and roofing slabs used in the temple were quite plain and of granite, the pilasters and door jambs being, as already noticed, of soft yellow sandstone and profusely sculptured.

There lie within the ruins numerous fragments of sculpture varying in quality from the finest to the rude ones of the past Muhammadan period; several of these are not bas-reliefs, but statues, and though by no means equal to the fine sculpture at Sirpur, which were executed in a hard basaltic stone, they owe their inferiority wholly, I believe, to the inferior quality of the stone, on which the weather has exercised a most injurious effect. A good many of the sculptures remind me of the sculptures at Kichong (see *ante*), and I should not at all think it improbable that they were executed about the same time.

In addition to the ruins of the great temple and its subordinate shrine of Nandi, there are the ruins of two other temples, but they are now mere shapeless mounds; they were also of brick.

There is besides one temple of stone partially broken but yet standing; this temple is evidently of the ninth or tenth century and was doubtless built during the great religious revival in India, when temples rose up in abundance everywhere, and when, as I have shown reason to believe, the repairs to the great old temple here were also executed; there is nothing remarkable about this temple; it faces south and is Saivic.

Near the pathway from the village to these ruins, which is about 1¼ mile distant, are numerous tanks, and the pathway itself passes over in some parts over an embankment of earth, evidently thrown up to keep out the floods; the intervening ground is low and in places marshy. There are also here and there on the route ruins of recent small temples or chhatris

and a few small brick mounds, the sites evidently of others; almost all of these are small and apparently of no interest, being modern; but it is not improbable that these are the remains of older and larger temples hidden in the rank jangal and the long grass which flourishes in the low ground; the point where the temples described are situated is a good deal higher than the adjacent country behind it, and I have reason to believe that at one time this high tongue of land extended much further into the river at the junction and was much wider than it now is, and it is possible, nay probable, from the fragments of bricks in the bed of the river, and the existence of a deep pool near the foot of the high scarped bank on the side of the Tel River, that the River has succeeded in washing away, not only a considerable portion of the promontory, but also some temples. At the present moment the river is evidently cutting the bank on which the temples stand, and the extreme point of the promontory is barely a hundred yards from the temples, so that it is by no means improbable that in a century or two more the traveller will in vain seek for the site of these ruins in the sands of the Tel River.

A few miles above, and on the same side of the river, is the small village of Amáth (Omat of the map), situated romantically in the semi-circular gorge of a small hill. This village must once have been a place of considerable importance, as it is full of ruins of brick temples, some picked out with stone. The temples appeared to have been mostly small ones, and as not a single one or a fragment of one is now standing, nothing but excavations are likely to lead to any discoveries. The dense jangal natural in such a position as the low fertile valley, surrounded on three sides by the hill and on the fourth by the river, prevented my making such a thorough examination as would have insured my not omitting to see all that yet exists above ground of ancient remains; but from what I did see by personal examination, aided by the village, I concluded that excavation or further exploration was not likely to yield results of importance at all commensurate to the time to be devoted to it. The temples appeared to have been all Saivic.

Between this village and Rojapodor is a small hut in a wild lonely spot on the side of the foot track along the river banks, where are collected several rude wooden figures commonly worshipped by the aboriginal tribes; among them were also two statues in stone of Hindu Saivic divinities, which I conjecture were carried off from the ruins of Amáth.

The Tel River forms the eastern boundary of the tributary state of Patna: there are numerous and extensive remains of antiquity in this forgotten and now neglected district. The ruins at Rânipur Jurâl vie in number, if not in magnificence and importance, with any in any part of India; nor is it a solitary instance and proof of the former opulence and position in civilization of this now barbarous state. The remains at Patna itself, those near Tittagarh visited by me, and those reported at Loisinga and at Kusum on the Kusumgai (a tributary of the Suktel River); those near Duduka (pronounced Dadka) on the Ong River; at Rânikol on the Suktel; at Papaharan, now indeed out of, but once said to have been within, the Patna râj; and at Sarqigurha, near Ojara, and the Sano River at the southern boundary of Patna, abundantly attest the importance, wealth, and civilization of this little known State in ancient times; the ruins at the last place, indeed, turned out on examination to be merely a huge heap of rubble stone, but those at Rânipur Jurâl, at and about Sinni near Titagarh, at Patna, and at Pâpaharan, evince much skill, and are of peculiar interest from the circumstance of the distinctive features of northern and southern mediæval architecture existing side by side.

48.—PATNA.

There once existed several temples in Patna, oi which the materials have been used up in building modern ones; of one group to the east of the city and of the Subanrekha nâla, which runs past it, there still stand some remains, but they are not of any importance. I counted some seven large and small, of which only two stand now, partly broken; they are placed on raised platforms, and are of brick with stone for the architraves, &c.; no carvings, or, as I rather think, the carving executed on stucco have disappeared; there is nothing to define their age definitely, but it does not appear they are older than the eleventh century of our era; they are within a dense jangal of creepers and brushwood, and were apparently all Saivic.

To the north-east of the city, near the junction of the two nalas which run past the city to its north-east, stood the garh, an old mud fort, but the walls are of great thickness, and the moat is still wide and deep; within are the remains of some temples, but of no importance.

Near the heart of the city stand some four or five temples, one oi which is of stone and partly sculptured; and although

much dilapidated, and there are marks of the temple having undergone extensive repair at one time, I have no hesitation in placing it in the tenth century of our era, and possibly it is even a century older.

Not far from this group is a dilapidated and unfinished one, said to have been built by the grandfather of the present Raja; but I beg leave to doubt this assertion, as although it is unique in plan, being a cell with a large oblong mahamandapa in front, down the whole length of which run two rows, each of four pillars and two pilasters dividing it into a nave and two aisles, yet the mode of roofing being in the old style of overlapping stones, not of the ninth and tenth centuries, but of the time of Raja Mân Singh, as exemplified in the remains of his period in Mânbhum, I have no hesitation in ascribing the founding of it to the fifteenth century; it was never finished, and I am inclined from the existing tradition to believe that the grandfather of the present Raja attempted to *complete* it; he too, however, left it unfinished, and it now stands dilapidated and unfinished—a puzzle to the people and to visitors. The outer portico I would, from its modern appearance, ascribe wholly or almost entirely to the last century.

But whoever began it in the fifteenth century must have had some older temple close at hand, if not on its site, to borrow materials from, for its pillars are sculptured in a style far superior to anything that was produced in these parts, even as early as the tenth century. The pillars remind one of the fine pillars at Garhwa and Hasanpur, near Lakhiserai, and must be ascribed to the eighth century at latest. Besides the sculptured pillars, there are numerous sculptures of Hindu divinities, some of very good execution, so that I have no hesitation in believing that a temple, itself profusely sculptured and adorned with sculptured objects of worship inside, did exist near or at this spot as early as the eighth century, and that it was a Vaishnavic one. In the fifteenth century the materials of this, and possibly of other temples of the ninth or tenth centuries, were used in erecting the existing one, which having been left unfinished was added to again during the last century. Should the present or some succeeding Raja finish it finally, this temple will contain specimens of the art of the eighth, ninth, tenth, and the architecture of the fifteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

There are several other temples within the city, some of them not unfavourable specimens of modern art in this little known and now a barbarous district. Among works of modern

art may be mentioned as well deserving of notice a "Garud khamb," set up on a high stepped chaubutra; the Garud khamb is the modern prototype of the monolithic pillars of Asoka. In his time these pillars, surmounted with lions, elephants, trees, &c., doubtless served as supports to the Buddhist emblem which crowned the summit. Although we have now no instance of any of these ancient pillars standing with the Buddhist emblem still crowning them, yet from a fragment of a pillar with its four-lion capital dug up at Sanchi lately by General Cunningham, which still bears the fragments of the Dhamma Chakra rising up between the lions, and from another dug up near Besnagar by him, the summit of which was a tree (evidently the Buddhist version of the Kalpa Briksha, and which General Cunningham with reason identifies with the tree mentioned in Beal's Romantic History of Buddha, age 258, which is there described as an object of universal adoration), it appears probable that some at least of the various Asoka monoliths were merely stands for objects or emblems of Buddhistic faith; naturally, when Brahmanical kings came to set up similar ones, they surmounted them with emblems of the Brahmanical faith, and of these Vaishnavism having to all appearance been the prevailing faith of the powerful earlier Princes of the Gupta dynasty, the pillars came naturally to be crowned with the figure of the Garud, and the name has stuck to it ever since.

There are several inscriptions in Patna, all now collected in the present police outpost, except one which lies near the Garud khamb noticed; it is a Sati pillar, and the inscription is in bad order, but it is dated in Samvat 10—0, so that it is as early as the tenth century of our era; of the two slabs in the police outpost one is inscribed on both sides and was evidently also a Sati pillar; the characters are a transition between the Nâgari and modern Uriya, and therefore of at least the eleventh century; the other is dated Samvat 1253, and in Nâgari characters closely approaching the modern. None of them, however, appear of any importance.

49.—RANIPUR JURAL.

The ruins at Rânipur Jurâl, in the southern portion of the Patna State, close to Temra on the Tong Nagla, or Tong-jor, are of much greater extent and greater importance than those at Patna; they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten.

The modern village is situated in the fertile plains immediately to the south-west of the large outcrop of flat rock on which the temples are perched; at the south-western foot of the outcrop of rock is a tank formed by embanking the valley, and there is another close to it nearly dry; the outcrop of rock forms a large gently rising elevation, which may be about 200 feet high at its highest point. Near its north-eastern end it is divided into two parts by a valley which runs northwards, and which had once been formed into a large tank, and is now formed into a succession of small ones for irrigation by embankments thrown across; to the east of the ruins, near its south-eastern end, is a small hamlet, and to its north-east is the village of Malgasura on the east bank of the Tong-jor: the whole of the existing ruins cover a space of about half a mile long by not even a quarter mile wide, but within this small space they lie in thick clusters. I will enumerate them from the west end.

The first group situated on the south-west end consists of 17 temples which face east and west still standing, the remains of two others, and the outline of the foundations of a third, marked on the rocky surface with chisel marks. These temples are all exclusively of cut stone, the stone being evidently the same as the rock on which they stand, and from which they have been quarried. The temples were evidently built of stone cut to shape, but the final smoothing of the exteriors were performed after the temples were finished, as the chisel marks on the rock were evidently made in cutting to shape the outside of the lowest course of blocks; this remark once made is applicable to every one of the stone temples in the place.

The second group consists of five temples perched higher up on the elevation, to the east of the first group and near the southern limits of the rocky outcrop; of these, two face north and three face east. There are besides the remains of three others, making a total of eight, all of small size and all of cut stone.

The third group, to the west of the first group, consists of four temples, one large and three very small, all of which face east; there is the ruin of another near the edge of the tank.

The fourth group, which is so close to the third group that they may almost be regarded as one group, consists of twenty-four temples standing and in ruins, some large, others small. Of the large ones, the northernmost one is a plain cell 13 feet

square, ornamented with pilasters along the walls and roofed by long slabs resting on the side-walls, the clear span being first diminished by corbelling out several courses; the roof is pyramidal exteriorly, as may be seen in the photograph, and is a curious instance of the occurrence in the same place of the purely Dravidian and the upper Indian forms of roofing, for the other temples are roofed in the usual style of the north of India tower roofs. The temples face east and is Saivic.

To the south of this are two small temples, also with pyramidal roof and also facing east; opposite these is a small one facing west, also with a pyramidal roof, and one very small example of the tower-roofed class; behind these are two others, one large and one small, both facing east and both having tower roofs, the larger one being ornamented exteriorly with plain lines of mouldings, and with chambers along the edge of each block forming the tower; facing these, and consequently facing west, are three temples (two of which are small, with tower roofs), and the remains of a fourth and of a fifth and sixth near the edge of the tank. Such of these temples whose object of worship can be ascertained with certainty or probability were Saivic; but this is not the case with the largest temple of the entire group, which is clearly Vaishnavic, judging from the figure of Lakshmi over the entrance, with elephants pouring water over her head. If, however, we carefully examine this temple, it is found to have once been Saivic also like the others, for the inscription over the entrance to the sanctum (the only inscription in the whole of the innumerable temples here), it is found to open with an invocation to Siva, while, to increase the confusion, a figure of Buddha is seen sculptured on the jamb of the entrance. Lying about within the mahamandapa of the temple are figures of Pârvati, Nandi, and an Argha with a lotus sculptured in the centre; also a statue of a Nagni while in the cell, the floor of which has been dug into most probably for buried treasure in the cavity into which the Argha, now in the mahamandapa, evidently fitted. This gives us some help in clearing up the mystery, for it is clear that the existing statues are those which were objects of worship last, and consequently the temple was originally either Buddhistic or Vaishnavic. It is of note, too, that the inscription, though deeply and boldly cut, is cut right through the centre square boss of the architrave over the entrance, which is usually occupied by sculpture, and through which it could never have been the intention of the builders of the temple to carry the inscription. It is further of note that the

inscription records the name "Sameswara deva" as "Bhattaraka Parameswara;" remembering that the title of Bhattaraka is generally affected by Buddhists (although I can see no reason why it should be so affected by them alone), it seems to favour the supposition that the Sameswara of the inscription, who was evidently the Raja of the country, was a Buddhist, and consequently that the temple was a Buddhist one before its conversion into a Saivic temple; but as it is evident from the unimpeachable testimony of the figure over the entrance that it was also Vaishnavic (unless, indeed, we assume the figure to be itself also Buddhist—a supposition by no means impossible, for such figures are to be found among the Barahut Buddhist sculptures), it follows that the temple was first Vaishnavic, next Buddhist, and finally Saivic.

The occurrence of so many temples at this spot is sufficiently accounted for by the inscription which records the existence here of a tirath, or place of pilgrimage; and I have no doubt a careful perusal and translation of the inscription, which consists of four long lines and two short ones, would throw much light on the ancient importance of this spot and identity of one of the many ancient tiraths mentioned in the Hindu sacred literature. The characters of the inscription would place it as early as the ninth century; and as then the object of worship within had been changed, at least once and probably twice, I think the latest date which we can assign to the building of this temple must be the eighth century of our era; and this, supposing, as I do, the temple to have been originally Vaishnavic, would correspond with the flourishing period of Vaishnavism in other parts of the district, as shown from the remains at Patna (*vide ante*).

The style of the building is very massive, the pillars and pilasters within being extremely heavy and perfectly plain, and the general massiveness of the building being intensified exteriorly by a plain heavy tower roof over the sanctum, and an extremely flat pyramidal roof voer the mahamandapa; the whole temple is built of cut stone, but, curiously enough, bricks also occur in the pyramidal roof over the mahamandapa. I presume they formed a sort of screen over the stone roof inside and were plastered over to keep out rain.

Facing this temple is the ruin of a small one, lying outside, which is a Sati pillar, half buried and uninscribed, representing on its sculptured compartment a man and one woman.

To the south of the large temple is a small temple facing south, with a plain pyramidal roof and the remains of a very

small one, and behind the great temple are the scattered remains of some ten temples, of which two were large ones, and the partially standing ruin of a small one.

To the west of these, and near the local top of the flattish outcrop of rock on which temples stand, are the quarries whence stone for building the temples were obtained.

There are accordingly no less than 57 temples on or near the banks of the tank in various stages of preservation and decay, but there must once have existed brick temples also, as numerous brick-bats are lying about scattered on the banks of the tank; of these even the sites are unknown, and they must have been dismantled and the materials carried off long ago to the adjacent village.

The central cluster is perched on and about the highest point of the rocky plateau; on the highest spot are the ruins of a modernised temple of brick and stone of no special interest; facing it and to its east is a small mound, the ruins of a temple of cut stone, and lying near it are several fragments of sculpture, one of which represents Vishnu on Garud, and another is a seated figure of Buddha: to the west of the central mound is a group of three temples, all standing, one facing east, one north and one west, all small, and all of the tower-roofed pattern with single square cells: to west of these, and on a commanding, though not the highest point of the plateau, is an open circular inclosure enshrining the sixty-four Joginis and a highly indecent three-headed and eight-armed figure of Siva, in the middle, under a chhatri on four pillars; to the west of this are the remains of some temples of no particular interest.

The interesting and unique temple or inclosure of the sixty-four Joginis deserves a detailed description beyond what can be furnished by the plans and sections. Of its antiquity there can be no doubt, and as in style of work and execution it approaches closest to the great inscribed temple which I have already assigned to the eighth century of our era, I cannot assign it to a later date than the ninth century, or about the same period when a similar temple to the same sixty-four Joginis was built, of which the ruins now exist at Bhera Ghât near Jabalpur, and to which period also I would assign the Chaonsat Jogini temple at Khajurâha. Entering by the east entrance and going round in the direction of the hands of a watch, there are—

1st.—A three-headed two-armed dancing female, holding a trident.

2nd.—A two-armed female with a lotus in each hand, dancing; on the pedestal are seven horses.

3rd.—A two-armed female broken and lying on the ground; one hand holds a mace.

4th.—A two-armed female, one hand at her navel, in the attitude of Buddha, the other arm broken.

5th.—A lion-headed female, two-armed, trident in one and a cup in her left hand.

6th.—A stout flabby female with breasts hanging down, holds a noose, and is represented as dancing.

7th.—A four-armed female; all hands broken.

8th, *9th*, *10th* } These three are missing.

11th.—A two-armed dancing female, left hand on her knee; right broken.

12th.—A three-headed four-armed figure, holding the trident, the rosary, and an hour-glass; the fourth-arm missing.

13th.—A skeleton figure seated on her hams.

14th.—A six or eight-armed female; with one pair of hands she is pulling wide her mouth, with the remaining unbroken ones she holds an hour-glass, a sword, a cup, and she is dancing on a prostrate male figure.

15th.—Missing.

16th—A lion-headed four-armed figure; one of the unbroken hands holds a native lamp (*chirag*), the other holds a frog which she is eating; she is represented dancing.

17th.—A horse-headed dancing female, four-armed, holding in her unbroken hands a club, an hour-glass, and a rosary.

18th.—A goat-headed dancing female, holding in her unbroken hands a mace, a trident, and a pestle.

19th.—A horse-headed four-armed dancing female, holding a sword, a bow and an arrow, one hand being broken.

20th.—A lion-headed four-armed dancing female figure; two hands at her breast like the figures of Siva at Seorinârâyan; two broken.

21st.—A goat or other animal-headed eight-armed dancing female figure, one hand at her navel as if holding

up something; the rest of her unbroken hands hold a sword, a rosary, a mace, and a vajra.

22nd.—An elephant-headed four-armed dancing female, holding in her one unbroken hand a club.

23rd.—A boar-headed four-armed female; two hands hold up her breasts, two others hold a club and a rosary.

24th.—A cow-headed horned four-armed female; all hands broken.

25th.—A four-armed dancing female figure; one hand on her knee and one at her breast, the others hold a club and a cup.

26th.—A four-armed female; two hands engaged in putting on her anklet, one holds a rosary, what the other holds cannot be identified.

27th.—A bear-headed four-armed female; the two unbroken hands hold a rosary and a lotus.

28th.—A serpent-headed four-armed figure; one hand on her knee, another at her breast, the others hold an alms dish or cup and a trident.

29th.—A two-armed female, holding in her existing hand a trident.

30th.—A two-armed figure, holding a cup and a trident.

31st.—A two armed figure; one hand holds a trident the other broken.

32nd.—Missing, but a four-armed skeleton figure is lying broken on the floor in front of the niche, and near it a seven-headed two-armed standing male figure.

33rd.—A two-armed female, holding a trident in one hand.

34th.—A two-armed female, holding a trident and a cup.

35th.
36th. } Similar to the last.
37th.

38th.—A four-armed female, holding a trident, an hour-glass, a cup; the fourth hand broken.

39th—A two-armed female, holding a rosary and an hour-glass.

40th.—Missing, but a two-armed female is lying on the ground.

41st.—Missing.

42nd.—A stout two-armed female, holding a trident (one hand broken).

43rd.—A two-armed female, holding a sword and having a child on her knee.

44*th.*—A horse-headed female, four-armed, one of which holds a trident, one other what looks like bags or pestles; the objects held by two other hands are not recognisable.

45*th.*—A two-armed buffalo-headed figure, holding a trident and a noose.

46*th.*—A four-armed female; two hands joined over her head, two others joined near her navel.

47*th.*—An antelope-headed female, two-armed, holding a sword in one hand.

48*th.*—A two-armed female; one hand on her knee, the other holds a trident.

49*th.*—A two-armed female; one hand on her knee, the other displaying some object.

50*th.*—Missing.

51*st.*—A two-armed female, in an indecent posture; she is rubbing her teeth with a finger of one of her hands for a tooth-brush, the other holds what may be either a mirror or a cup.

52*nd.*—A two-armed female; holds a club in one hand, the other displays some object.

53*rd.*—A two-armed female, holding in her hands a sword and a cup.

54*th.*—A four-armed female; one hand at her chest displaying something, the other holds a club.

55*th.*—A four-armed female; holds a bow, an arrow, and a bunch of something which looks like flowers or fruit; the fourth hand is broken off.

56*th.*—A two-armed female; holds in the existing hand a pair of pincers.

57*th.*—A two-armed female; holds a noose in one hand. what she holds in the other I cannot recognise.

58*th.*—Missing, but on the floor in front lies a female with her hands at her navel.

59*th.*—A two-armed female, holding a club and a cup.

60*th.*—A two-armed female; one hand raised to her forehead, the other holding an almond-shaped hollow article.

61*st.*—A two-armed female; holding a club and a stick.

62*nd.*—Missing, but on the floor in front lies a female, two-armed, one hand holding a club.

63*rd.*
64*th.* } Missing.

In the centre of the circular inclosure is a small *chhatra* on four pillars enshrining an eight-armed and a three-headed male, holding in two of his hands a snake and in the others a cup, an hour-glass, a rosary, a skull, a trident, and an indistinct object. He evidently represents Siva, and has Nandi for her symbol on the pedestal; Ganeça stands at her side, the figure is outrageously indecent, and probably for this reason in particular attracts the worship of the devout more than other figures; there are some smaller figures also, among them Paroati, eight-armed, and a few fragments, but the whole Saivic.

It appears the inclosure had its principal opening originally at the south side, which is now shut up and converted into a niche, enshrining the large figure described as No. 14. Subsequently the small door to the east was substituted in place of it; but why this change was made I have been unable to determine or even guess. I can only point to a similar change in the original position of the principal entrance in the temple at Bhera Ghât as a curious coincidence.

On the northern rock, which is separated from the one just noticed with its remains by a valley formed by embankments into a succession of tanks, are the remains of several temples; first is a group of two temples facing east, and to east of these, about 50 yards off, two others, also facing east; opposite to and facing these two are two others, and one more, which also faces west. There are besides these seven temples ruins of some ten others, mostly in such a state that only the sites can be said to exist. None of these temples are or were large except two, which unfortunately are mere heaps of cut stone at present; none were sculptured, and none probably inscribed, so that there has not been much loss in their destruction.

A short distance from these temples is a single temple of brick on a high raised platform; at present there exists only the sanctum and its attached antarala, but there can be little doubt, from the great extent of the terrace in front, on which the temple stands, that it once had a large mahamandapa of some kind in front. The temple is of brick, and not particularly remarkable in any way, but it is clearly of the northern type of architecture, and although it is not possible with any certainty to assign its age, there can, I conceive, be little doubt that it must be placed a century anterior to the numerous small plain stone temples which dot the bare rock above noticed. The basement mouldings are plain, but massive, and devoid of the elaborateness which became a principal feature in later tem

ple architecture, and the existence in particular of the kumbha-shaped moulding (the Greek *ovolo*) goes far to support the antiquity which I would assign to it. The temple faces south, the cell is only 10 feet square, but the walls are massive, and the platform on which it stands is more than 90 feet long by 37 feet in width; the material is exclusively brick, well shaped and well burnt, 13 inches long by 9 inches wide and 2½ thick; the architraves are naturally of stone, as is also the inner roof of the sanctum, which is constructed in the usual style of intersecting squares. At the time of my visit there was an accumulation of bats' dung in the chamber to the depth of fully 4 feet. The opening in front is not in the usual style of a tall triangle, so that taken altogether the temple is a specimen of the Sirpur style of brick temples; details of the plan, section, &c., will be more easily obtained by a reference to the plates and photographs than by any description.

No legends or traditions exist regarding this temple.

At a short distance from the temple are extensive ruins of buildings which were doubtless palaces or dwelling-houses; they are not of any special interest, as they clearly belong to a past Muhammadan period, but they are of importance as showing that the place was the seat of some grandee, if not of the Raja himself, till within about 300 years at least. I suspect the name Rânipur Jurâl is derived from these palaces, having been built by, or having been the residence of, the Queen for the time being, as the ruins are universally said to be ruins of a mahal. Jurâl means, so far as I could gather, a valley or rather a fertile cultivated valley, and the name would therefore mean the fertile valley city of the Queen, a perfectly appropriate name.

50.—SINNI.

About 12 miles to the east of this place are a number of ruins in villages round about Tittagarh. At Sinni, 4 miles south by a little west of Tittagarh, is a small temple on the banks of what once was a fine tank, but is now a pond; it consists of a cell with a square mahamandapa in front, supported on plain square pillars. There is no ornamentation anywhere, but the pillars though plain are neat, and the workmanship is good. It cannot be, I suppose, a very ancient building, but is more likely to date to the eleventh or twelfth century, though

the absence of all sculpture and inscription renders it difficult to assign its age.

Close to the village, and a little to south-east of it, is a rock known as Ghisni Pahâri; here is a natural cavern enshrining a rock-cut lingam.

51.—GHORAL.

At Ghoral, 3 miles south-by-west from Sinni, are several temples, two to the east and two ruined ones to the north of the village; one stands entire and consists of a single cell of plain rough cut stone and rude workmanship; the other three are in ruins, only the platforms on which they stood exist now, encumbered with stone blocks which once belonged to them. There is to the north of the northern temples and near them and the village a projecting rock, about 30 feet long and breast high, on which are rudely carved figures of the Navagraha.

52.—UDAYPUR.

About a mile east of Ghoral is a temple similar to the one at Ghoral, and the ruins of one of these are within the village of Udaypur.

53.—KUMRA.

At Kumra, 2 miles south by a little west from Tittagarh, are some ruins. One mound stands to the south-east of the village, and yields bricks 15 inches long by 9 wide and 3 thick; judging from the rectilinear directions of the walls, it is clearly the ruins of a temple; it stands near what was once a fine embanked tank, but is now nearly dry.

Half a mile to the west of this, perched on a flat rock, is a temple of stone, consisting of a single cell only; it is perfectly plain and faces south; from the existence of a spout at the floor level on the west side I infer the temple to have been Saivic.

To the north of this and on the westernmost spur, which runs northwards from the northern face of the naked rocky ridge, is a large oblong mound of brick; the bricks are 17½ inches long by 9 inches wide and 3 thick; the mound is the ruin of a large temple, the outline of the mahamandapa of which can yet be traced; near the mound lies a large slab 8½ feet square, with a semicircular projection, 2 feet in diameter from one side, and which I take to have been meant as a spout; there is nothing to show that it was the pedestal of a statue, and indeed the squareness of the stone

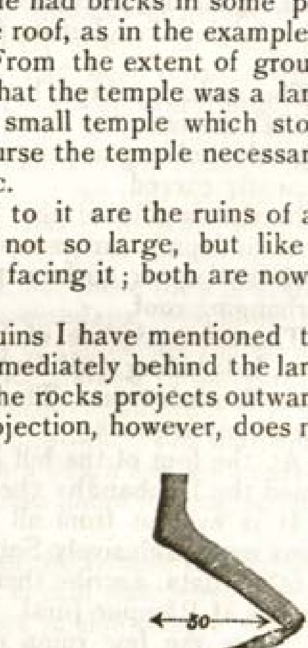
is itself an argument against this supposition; nor is there any signs of its having been intended for a lingam, but, as is not unfrequently the case, a lingam with its argha may have stood bodily on it, forming the floor of the sanctum which enshrined it.

About a hundred yards off, on the slope of the main ridge and close to the top, are the remains of a small temple of brick with pillars and architraves of stone; the pillars and architraves now lie prostrate.

Facing this and higher up the hill are the remains of a large temple of cut stone, perfectly plain, and the stone blocks composing it, though plain, are carefully cut. The temple was adorned by plain lines of mouldings, fragments of which lie about among the ruins; like the last, the pillars used were perfectly plain square ones, and like the last also they now lie prostrate; the floor of the temple was paved with cut stone closely fitted. From the existence of bricks among the stone blocks, I infer that the temple had bricks in some part of its body, most probably in the roof, as in the example at Rânipur Jurâl already noticed. From the extent of ground covered by the ruins it is evident that the temple was a large one, to which in all probability the small temple which stood facing it was subordinate; of course the temple necessarily faced north, and I think was Saivic.

To the west of this and close to it are the ruins of another temple of brick and stone, not so large, but like it having a small subordinate temple facing it; both are now in ruins.

Behind these temples whose ruins I have mentioned the rock rises up quite vertical, and immediately behind the large stone temple, the vertical face of the rocks projects outwards in a convex curve. This convex projection, however, does not rise up from the slope of the hill, but overhangs to the depth of 50 feet at the most convex part thus:



the irregular semi-circular space thus roofed over naturally is formed into chambers by built walls, there being a square chamber behind and an oblong one in front; the walls are built of brick and also in some parts of rubble and cut stone; the bricks are of four sizes, being 18 inches long, 9 wide, 5 deep;

18 inches long, 9 wide, 3½ deep; 14 inches long, 8 wide, and 3 deep; and 14 inches long, 6 wide, and 3 deep.

The square chamber thus formed underneath this projecting suspended natural tower serves as the sanctum of a temple of which the oblong chamber is the mahamandapa; the cell is 12 feet square, the mahamandapa in front 37 feet long by 17 wide. Outside these principal chambers, and evidently at a subsequent period, other chambers were formed, still roofed by the projecting tower, but of which only traces remain, the rude walls inclosing and forming them into chambers having crumbled down in every instance but one; this last stands side by side with the sanctum, with which, however, it has no communication, but opens into the mahamandapa.

The entrance from the mahamandapa into the sanctum is through a doorway neatly but plainly ornamented, and of cut stone. The sanctum enshrines a lingam; it is paved with bricks, 14 inches, by 6 inches, by 3 inches; the mahamandapa is also brick paved, but its pavement is now encumbered with rubbish.

The mahamandapa has but one entrance into it from the outside; the entrance consists of a projecting brick pillar on each side, holding and supporting a cut-stone doorway, plainly but neatly carved.

In the façade of the cave, the front brick wall of the mahamandapa is ornamented with a plain line of coping, of which the upper surface touches the lower surface of the overhanging roof.

There is a statue of Siva with the hands joined at the chest, half hiding, half displaying an almond-shaped symbol as at Seorinârâyan. There are no inscriptions, nor could I hear of any legends.

At the foot of the hill below these temples is a large tank named the Deobandh: the rock is named Tangri Dongar.

It is evident from all that I have seen here that the remains were exclusively Saivic. I accordingly, in the absence of other data, ascribe them to the same period as the Saivic remains at Rânipur Jurâl.

There are few ruins of ancient date in the Bodosamar State. I heard of some remains at, or rather a couple of miles south-west of, the city of Bodosamar itself within a narrow valley among the hills, but as they were said to be not old, I did not think it worth while examining them. I did, however, examine carefully all the remains at Narsing Nath or

Haranpah, a tirath of no small sanctity a few miles to the west of Bodosamar city, on the west flank of the great Gandhamadan Hill.

The tirath is at the source of the Pâpaharanani Nala, (a tributary of the Ong), at the point where it finally leaves the hills after numberless cascades; it rises at the top of the hill and is said to first see the light at the foot of a large mango tree, where it bubbles forth from a spring; it soon increases in volume by various additions, and descends the west slope of the hill in a series of cascades and rapids, some of which (three) are very high up, and of some height; the third cascade being distinctly visible from a distance of fully 10 miles with the naked eye, and probably from a greater distance. The temples are situated at the point where it finally leaves the foot of the steep hill and starts on it fairly in the undulating plains; the temples are neither very large nor very remarkable, though sufficiently so for this part of India.

The most important temple is a tolerably large one in the Khajurâha style, once very elaborately sculptured inside and out, but having fallen into decay had been repaired with a liberal allowance of plaster, which covers up everything. The mahamandapa, which, however, I was not allowed to enter, has three entrances, and in so far is an improvement on the Khajurâha style. These entrances are about the only external portions of the temple not buried in plaster; they are small but elaborately sculptured. All round the tower of the sanctum are rows of statues as at Khajurâha, but these rows of statues are not continued on to the mahamandapa, which on this account, as well from a certain want of proportion (so far as I could judge by the age, for I was not allowed to measure) to the sanctum, I consider to be a subsequent addition, the original one having most probably fallen down. The mahamandapa is supported internally on pillars which are well carved, and apparently old, so far as I could judge looking at them from outside the entrances.

Tradition ascribes the building of the temple to Bijal Deo Gangabauri, Raja of Orissa, and it is said that seven successive Pandas have officiated as priests in this temple since its erection. This statement is certainly strange, and I accordingly interpret it thus: that Bijal Deo was the founder; the temple fell into decay, but was repaired at one time, since when seven successive Pandas have officiated. This would place the repair of the temples about 150 years back at the utmost, and its erection a few centuries earlier. But we have better

grounds to go upon in determining the age of this temple from an inscription which is let into the wall: the inscription, it is true, is on a detached slab simply let into the temple outside, and may or may not belong to it, but it certainly belongs to some temple which once at least existed here, and as this one is clearly the oldest now existing, and therefore, if not the identical one, at least one of a group of temples to which the inscription belonged, its age can with every confidence be ascertained within moderate limits from it, if the statement of the inscription be not inconsistent with the age which, on architectural data, ought to be assigned to it.

The inscription is in transitional Uriya characters, very closely approaching modern Uriya: it mentions a Bachha Raja of Patna and Bijal Raja, his son, and records the gift of the village of Loisinga: it is dated, but here is the puzzle; the date is either 672 or 728, which is utterly inconsistent with the forms of the characters, if referred to either the Sake or the Vikrama eras. I am therefore inclined to consider it as a Hijra date, for it was no uncommon thing to use the Hejira or the Fasli date all over Bengal down to so late as a score of years ago, and there is nothing improbable or impossible in its having been used elsewhere also, it being clearly the recognised official era.[1]

If then we consider it as the Hijra, all difficulties are cleared away, for the form of the characters and the character of the architecture both agree with the date, which thus becomes A.D.

Besides this principal temple there are some other shrines which are modern and of no interest; there is one small shrine to Mahadeva, which appears old on the opposite or north bank of the nala, but it is of no interest.

The other objects of interest, or at least of reverence, are the various kunds or pool in the bed of the nala, which are considered efficacious in washing away sins: the lowest is at a spot near the temple called the Gan Kund, though why it should be called a kund is not evident, as there is no pool deep or shallow here at all; higher up at a short distance is a beautiful small roaring cascade which falls into a pool below;

[1] The Fasli was one of Akbar's innovating follies. He took the Hijra year 963 (which was the first of his reign), and from it began to reckon in solar years of 365 days, the previous 963 years having been lunar ones of 354 days only. Thus the year 1880 A.D. is Fasli 1288. Now the latter began on 10th September 1555, which deducted from 1880 gives 325 solar years expired; and the same number added to 963 gives the Fasli year 1288. The date of the inscription cannot therefore be the Fasli year.—A. CUNNINGHAM.

the cascade is known as the Gaj Dhar; higher up is another with a fall of about 20 feet, known as the Bhim Dhar, and still higher, a small water-worn hole in the rocks on the right bank known as the Sitâ Kund, and is fabled to be the spot where Sitâ, going to wash certain soiled garments of hers, seeing this was blamed greatly by Râma for attempting to pollute the stream, and she accordingly scooped out the kund or hole that exists. Higher up is the Panch Pandu Kund and other sacred spots. There are several rock sculptures of rude execution, mostly figures of Siva, Nandi, and the Lingam but also of Brahma and of Vishnu and of some seated figures.

The inscription clearly proves that the State of Bodo-sama was once subject to the Raja of Patna.

54.—PHULJHAR.

There are no remains of interest in the Phuljhar State. I heard of old remains of temples at Bastipali, where a horse-shoe range of hills nearly encircles a small valley; but minute inquiry showed that the so-called old temples were mere dilapidated thatched sheds, which did duty for temples. There is said to be but one sculptured object of worship in the whole of the Phuljhar raj; it is said to be a two-armed female figure, 2½ feet high, which is said to be at Chimerkhel, and is looked upon with great reverence by the people; she is fabled to be the mother of all the devatas of Phuljhar raj. There are altogether six devatas worshipped in Phuljhar, but none have any stone sculptured figures to represent them; they are Chaturbhujini, residing at Khirmal, Raktaviraj at Temri, Manik Sahuda at Lamkani, Khameswari at Bilkhera, Phanj-viraj or Fanjviraj at Kasalba, and Momabancha at Guriahri. I found the people very reticent about these devatas, and I could, in the short time of my stay within the district (a single day only), get no definite information about them beyond the mere names given above.

55.—SARANGARH.

There are some remains of interest in the Sarangarh State; all that I could hear of are round about the small village of Pujaripali.

Half a mile west of Pujaripali is the village of Pajdhar, near a large lake. Here is a ruined temple to Mahadeo, built of bricks, each 15 inches in length; there are three other ruined temples or mounds, and the remains of a fine temple of stone,

known as the Rani Jhula (Rani's swing); the temple, or rather as the people now call it, the swing (from the circumstance of four pillars with their surmounting architrave alone standing) is ascribed to a Rani, who is also said to have embanked the large tank here. The pillars are very fine, and the four now standing are clearly the four central pillars of a large mahamandapa; they are ornamented with large statues sculptured on the four outer faces, one on each of the eastern faces of the two eastern pillars, and one on each of the western faces of the two western pillars. The temple appeared to have faced north and south.

56.—PUJARI PALI.

At Pujari Pali itself are some temples; one of brick, 15 or 18 inches in length, and which, from a number of Jaina figures lying near it, I conclude to have been a Jaina temple. There are among the numerous sculptures lying near it two of a four-armed female; there is also another temple in ruins inshrining the broken figure of a female known as "Bura Seni;" it is said that some years ago the statue was entire, but a jogi came to live here, who from the inscription lying here discovered that the figure contained secreted in its stomach much wealth; accordingly, having killed people's suspicions by assiduous service in the temple, disappeared one fine morning, leaving the statue in the broken state it now presents. Tradition ascribes this temple to Raja Dama Ghos, and says the Rani's name was Deimati; she it was who built the tank at Pajdhar. The name of Raja Dama Ghos recalls forcibly to mind the "Raja Dama Dhurva Gour, whose reign is traditionally said to have extended over the whole of eastern Chhattisgarh, from Lapha and Kosgain on the north to Rajam on the south, and who will be further mentioned subsequently; the ancient name of Pujari Pali is said to have been Sakras Nagar."[1]

SAMBHALPUR.

There are not many ruins in the Sambhalpur khas district; the ruins at Sambhalpur itself are not numerous, nor

[1] The inscription discovered here was deposited by me in the museum at Sambalpur; it is in characters of the tenth century, on a black stone, 2¼ feet long by about 17 inches wide; the upper portion is broken off. The inscription is in 44 slokas, and apparently belonged to a Saivic temple; it promises to be of interest. A short distance east of Pujari Pali is the village of Saria Pali, which also contains the ruins of some temples. On the fragment of a pillar at Batti or Saria Pali is one line of inscription in old characters which I reproduce; it is evidently a pilgrim's record १ अमर देवेन: लिखितं । *Amara Devenah likhitam*, "written by Amara Deva."

interesting, being mostly very modern and none of any interest; they are sufficiently noticed in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*. I will only notice a sacred bathing ghât, about 2 miles above Sambhalpur, where are to be found rudely scratched on the rocks in the river-bed several inscriptions, which, however, are neither very old, nor, so far as I can make out, interesting.

57.—ARBHAR.

At Arbhar, 8 miles south-east of Sakti, the capital of the Sakti State, are some ruins; outside the village, to the south-west, is a figure of a two-armed female in black stone, evidently of Parvati, from the large broken figure of Wandi lying at her feet: in the house of the malguzar is a large lingam, evidently and avowedly taken from one of the old ruined temples here which still stands in ruins; this temple was clearly Saivic; a figure of Ganeça is sculptured over the entrance with two male figures on one side and a female figure on the other; this is an eight-armed figure holding various warlike implements and evidently meant for Parvati; she is represented standing over a prostrate male figure; she is locally known as the Dasabhuji Devi, although she has really only eight arms. The outer gate of the temple is still standing; but the greater portion of the stones of the temple have been carried off by the malguzar of the village.

Among the ruins are two fragments of inscriptions; one in two lines on a fragment of a statue is broken off, leaving only the last few letters visible; these are *lahd* above and *chakshana* below; the other is a single line on a plain slab. It is evident from these records that the temple was one of considerable antiquity, and that excavation judiciously carried on here may yield results of interest and importance.

58.—CHANDARPUR.

Chandarpur is a considerable village on the Mahanadi between Seorinârâyan and Sambhalpur; there are several ruins here, but they are chiefly Muhammadan and of a period posterior to the Muhammadan conquest, and are not of interest. Archæologically they simply tend to prove that it was a place of considerable importance during a period of the Muhammadan sovereignty.

The remains in the Chhattisgarh district have been already noticed by me in my report on the Central Provinces,[1]

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII.

but since then several new discoveries have been made. Among them are a number of inscriptions which have been found in various places—one from Kugda, near Bachhand-garh, a fragment worn in places, 18 inches wide and 27 long, of 25 lines; the fragment broken off is small, a second fragment of a trapezoidal form from Akaltara begins with *aum namo sivaya*. It is in excellent order, though incomplete, and is of great importance; it is clearly of the Kulachuri dynasty, and, as far as I can make out, mentions the village of Mânikya Masitulli (the present Masturi and Mânikpur), or the seat of the Kulachuris. I sent my men to report on the place, being ill myself at the time at Seorinârâyan, and although they report that there are no remains at either of the places, I have little doubt that excavations would yield a rich harvest, as there are mounds. I was pressed for time then, and could not go back to examine the place myself after recovering my health. The inscription is in Slokas. An inscription was also obtained from Malhar, also a fragment, and in bad order; it begins with *aum namo sivaya;* the fragment is nearly 3 feet long and contains 13 lines. An inscription in bad order from Muhammadpur, 27 inches long, contains 27 lines in Slokas; this is also a record of the Kulachuri dynasty.

I heard also of two inscriptions at Pali, one said to have been carried off by the Chief of Lakhanpur near Ramgarh, the other said to exist still at Pali, but all my efforts to obtain definite information as to their whereabouts and copies of them proved futile.

59.—TURTURIA.

A few miles south-west of Seorinârâyan and close to Bahria village, on the Balamdi Nâla, and about 7 miles above its junction with the Mahanadi, there is a *tirath* known as Turturia. The name is said to be due to a spring of water which bubbles out of the interstices of some rocks on the hill side; the spring is called the Turturia, or the Sursuri Ganga. It is worthy of note that the word Tur appears in some way connected with the flow of water in the wild districts south of Rohtasgarh, and as an instance I may mention the spring issuing from Ramgarh[1] Hill, which is called Turra. At the same time I am not aware of the word "*Tur*" meaning water in any language in the districts which I have travelled through.

[1] Travels in the Central Caucasus by Douglas Treshfield: Brown and Co., 11-12.

The *tirath* is but little known, hence, when I passed within 6 miles of it during my tour in the Central Provinces, I did not hear of it till too late, and could not visit it. The pujaris here are women, and women only; this is such a remarkable circumstance that I wish to give it prominence as coupled with the fact of the numerous Buddhist remains in the place. I am inclined to think they may be the modern Hindufied representatives of an ancient institution of nuns that existed here in the flourishing days of Buddhism. That extensive nunneries existed in various parts of India during the ascendancy of the Buddhist faith we well know, but I believe no particular spot has been identified that possesses even a plausible presumption to having been actually a Buddhist nunnery; this place of Buddhist worship therefore, which, from its still being inhabited—guarded I should rather say—by women exclusively, may fairly be considered as having once been a nunnery, acquires great importance. I proceed to describe it in detail. On the north bank of the Balamdi Nâla, the high table-land which stretches along the south bank of the Mahanadi, after its junction with the Seonath, forms bold steep slopes utterly impracticable to any but foot passengers; the slopes do not run parallel to the Nâla, which runs in a remarkably straight and unnaturally wide, dry, sandy bed, almost due east and west, but recede in parts, while at others they approach and almost overhang the edge of the nâla, forming thus a succession of valleys of various shapes, bounded on all sides except the south by the steep slopes of the high table-land, which on its western face also forms similar valleys, but on a very much larger scale along the eastern banks of the Mahanadi before it takes the decisive bend to the east; but whereas, on the western face, the table-land runs at great distance from the river banks, the minimum distance being half a mile, increasing often to 3, on the banks of the small nâla, the valleys seldom extend to the distance of half a mile from the edge, and are often semicircular of only half a mile diameter; it is one of these semicircular valleys that is the place of interest, and the existence of a copious spring of clear water appears to have been the original cause of the importance it doubtless once possessed.

The spring issues out of a dark cavern between large masses of rock on the hill slope at the north-east side of the semicircle; the cavern is very small and narrow, and cannot consequently be explored, but the gurgling sound of the water can be traced to some distance from the mouth, till

the constantly increasing mass of earth and rock between the water and the surface of the hill-side renders it inaudible; it doubtless comes from a considerable distance through underground channels, as the volume is said to remain nearly undiminished even in May and June. As the hill-side rising up terminates not in a ridge, but in a plateau, which I had the misfortune to explore rather more than was pleasant or than I intended (having lost my way in it), and as this high plateau is very flat, with few water-courses, and as there appeared to have once been large low-lying spaces in it without visible outlets, and where I saw rank long grass growing although I saw no water, I infer that these are the sources of the perennial supply; there may even be actual swamp in the unexplored plateau, although I saw none.

The stream from its point of issue is led by cut-stone spouts with a gentle slope to near the foot of the hill where it is allowed to pour out in a cascade; the place has naturally been hollowed out by the action of the water into a small shallow basin, which is now surrounded by a brick-and-mud wall, but which once clearly was more pretentiously ornamented by cut-stone bathing ghâts and steps, remains of which exist. Within the basin and close to the spout are collected a number of figures, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical, the latter being principally represented by lingams, although there is also a figure of the four-armed Vishnu with the shell, lotus discus and mace, and a trunkless figure of Ganeça. The lingams, or at least most of them, from their size and material, appear to me to have evidently been manufactured out of the smaller pillars of the Buddhist temples that once adorned the place; indeed one was so clearly once a part of a pillar that it is only necessary to look at it and at the pillars (see photographs) to see that they are identical in every respect down to the minute, though shallow, bands of sculpture that adorn them.

Besides the figures there are several pillars and fragments of a small size; these small pillars are very curious; they are square below, the square portion being merely dressed without any ornament. Above this is an octagonal portion rounding off towards the top, and surmounted by an octagonal splayed capital; at the junction of this capital with the rounded part of the pillar, which is the thinnest part of the pillar, is a fillet; the capital is itself surmounted by a heading and an octagonal disc crowned by a second splayed capital, the whole being surmounted by a square abacus.

It is difficult to fix the precise age of these small pillars: they evidently could not have formed the supports of any roof, and being entire ones, and far too small, could have belonged to no door jambs. The only purpose they could have served would have been as the dwarf pillars of windows; but, so far as I am at present aware, the elaborate and exquisitely gracefully placed windows of Hindu sacred architecture, as seen in the examples at Khajuraha, are not to be met with at an earlier date than the ninth century, nor indeed do the temples of an earlier date appear to have possessed any dwarf pillars, however numerous their demands may have been for dwarf pilasters; further, the style of the sculpture is clearly late Gupta, possessing all the graceful scroll-work and the medallions and semi-medallions for which those sculptures are noted, although the execution is very shallow. At the same time, the form of the capital is totally different from any in use either in the Gupta period or in the later period, of which we have examples. Under these circumstances, remembering that there are numerous remains still there of the Gupta style, I would place them at the very end of the transition period from Gupta to mediæval styles of architecture, and consequently at the very end of the eighth century at the earliest.

Among the collection near the spout of the spring are two figures, one of a man holding aloft a sword as if about to strike a lion that is tearing his right arm, the sword, curiously enough, being held by his left hand; the other is evidently a sister figure to this, and represents a man twisting round the neck of a humped animal (bull I believe), whom he has lifted up on his hind legs into a position as nearly as the difference of subjects treated will allow, resembling the position of the lion in the other figure; the animal in this instance is to the left of the man. These figures evidently occupied the positions usually occupied by figures of Ganga and Jamna in the earlier Gupta temples at the upper wings of the doorposts; but the sculpture is very inferior in design and execution to Gupta art; the temple, therefore, to which they belonged (perhaps the very one remains of whose dwarf pillar still stands near them), must date at the earliest to the very end of the Gupta period, or to about the end of the eighth century.

Close to and south of the reservoir, on a shoulder of the hill, once existed a brick stûpa; the side of the hill next to the reservoir having at some time slipped down had carried a part of the tope down with it; the existence of this mine of

fine ready-made bricks being thus disclosed, it was soon utilised in building the huts of the priestesses or Bhaktins who reside at the place, and now only a small portion of the tope remains to mark the site; from the curve I conclude the tope to have been about 25 feet in diameter.

To the east of the tope in the valley stands the remnant of an old temple, subsequently altered and added to, but which had since itself become dilapidated; the portion standing comprises the original sanctum altered, and some late additions, but the ruins which lie touching the sanctum on the south, which its original entrance faced, are the really interesting portion of this relic of antiquity. I excavated it partially and unearthed numerous exquisitely handsome and curious pillars, some tastefully but sparingly sculptured, others sculptured profusely, but not less tastefully; they were of two different kinds of stone, one a reddish sandstone, soft and easily worn, the other a grey sandstone, still softer; on one of these latter was a single line of inscription in Gupta characters, which unfortunately was much injured in washing.[1]

These pillars resemble those since excavated at Besnagar, near Bhilsa, and at Deoghar near Lalitpur, of which drawing and details will probably be furnished by General Cunningham, and of which photographs were taken; but besides these which are undoubted late Gupta, there were some pillars greatly more antique and extremely curious; these have a bell capital, but the bell is inverted; the form, however, of the inverted bell is not graceful, it is far too tall for the meagre swell given to it; it is fluted, and is surmounted by heading neck and sur capital similarly fluted; the pillars adorned by these curious capitals are not all alike, some are octagonal throughout sculptured in the hands with medallions and semi-medallions inshrining figures; others are fluted similarly to the capitals, but broken up into distinct portions by elegantly sculptured octagonal hands; the photographs will give an idea of these curious pillars, which are absolutely unique.

Unfortunately my excavations were brought to a sudden and unwilling stoppage by want of workmen. The first day of my arrival I succeeded in getting some few workmen, though greatly in opposition to the zemindars; next morning, however, the zemindars had taken effectual precautions to prevent the willing workmen from coming, and after vain attempts to get others, I was obliged to abandon all attempts at excavation

[1] I read the letters as *ro Bhagavato*.—A. C.

and jangal clearing. I could not consequently even execute a survey of the place, and to my extreme regret was forced to leave the place without such an examination of it as I considered necessary. The priestesses were quite willing to help me, but they were powerless either to dig or to procure workmen.

The temple which yielded these magnificent pillars was of brick and stone; pure lime plaster of excellent quality had been extensively used to coat the pillars, which I have no doubt was a necessity, considering the very soft quality of the stone employed. So far as half a day's excavation permitted me to judge, the temple consisted of a sanctum facing south, adorned with a vestibule and a large hall or mahamandapa with four central free standing pillars, whence the bell capitalled pillars came, or if they belonged to this temple, what particular position they occupied in it I am unable to define.

Between this temple and the Balamdi nâla, there are numerous heaps of ruins, which, so far as the thick jangal would allow, I believe to be thirteen, all of brick picked with stone; the largest one was about midway between this and the river, and must have belonged to a large temple, as the mound now measures about 80 by 120 feet; there were fragments of figures lying about, among which I recognised Aditya, so that if not originally, yet at some period of its history, this place must have had temples to Hindu divinities in addition to, or in supersession of the Buddhistic temple.

Through the kindness of the Bhaktins of the place, I was enabled to examine also a number of ruins (three in number) on the south banks of, and close to the nâla, but of the existence of which I was unaware, so buried are they in dense jangal. These ruins are evidently remains of temples, but of a decidedly later date than the ruins on the north side of the nâla, as evidenced by the characters of their inscriptions. One has the Buddhist formula, *i.e.* Dharmma, in Kutila characters inscribed round the head; it is probably Padma Pani, as he holds a flower in one hand and is two-armed; there are others similar to it, besides a seated figure of Buddha in the attitude of teaching with the "Ye Dharmma," in characters of the ninth century still legible on the broken pedestal. Several figures are also inscribed with masons or sculptors' marks on the back, but these are of no interest.

The traditions of the place, as I heard from the Bhaktins, say that this place is within the limits of the "Bar râj,"

and that the ruins were built by the Bar Rajas; the spring is considered very holy, and to be a part of the Ganges itself, flowing subterraneously and bringing here the waters of the 52 tirthas, or holy halting places of the Ganges; but the priestesses evidently had not much to communicate in the legendary line, and of other inhabitants I saw none.

About 6 miles north-east of Baluda, in the Bilaspur district, in a low range of hills that runs north-west and south-east, is a natural cavern, which, as I have mentioned in a previous paper (Vol. VII, Archæological Survey), I had heard of, but could not then examine; this I have now been able to do: the cave is a natural cavern on the western face of the range. Near the summit, internally it is irregular in shape with several narrow fissures extending on various sided a long way into the hill; these fissures are very narrow and one has to creep along them on all fours. I examined all three, not to the end, but to considerable distances, with the aid of artificial light, and found that they gradually got narrower without any prospect of widening; two, indeed, became mere clefts impassable for any human being; the third and largest was obstructed with loose pieces of rock, which it was very difficult to remove to open a passage in the confined space; in the cave itself there is nothing of any note; a mass of rock supports the roof of the cavern near its middle and has been rudely shaped into a roundish shape, with many stands for either a lingam or for a rude standing figure; it is covered with vermillion, the cave was inhabited by a jogi, who had made way for a tiger, which last, after mauling a man, had been, I was told, killed. Worshippers from the neighbourhood make offerings in the cave, especially women, and I saw a quantity of the flowers of the "ak," which had evidently been recently left there; outside the cave are rudely scratched lingams, &c.; there is nothing of interest, however, in or about the cave.

At Ajgar Bahar the bare black rocks which show through the verdure covering the hills are so curiously marked with ripple lines and feather-shaped markings as to look at a distance inscribed, and I lost both time and labour in examining them. The markings are very curious and constitute a characteristic feature of the rocks at this spot, and at this alone, for miles round, though similar rocky hills abound all over. Ajgar Bahar is about 8 miles east-north-east of Chhurhi; the hills are to the east of the village; it owes its name, I suspect, to the curiously marked rocks which draw perforce attention

to the superb scenery, Ajgar Bahar meaning stupendous beauty.

60.—KOSGAIN.

The last place that I will describe in this report is the fort of Kosgain, situated on a hill of the same name, about 4 miles north-west of Dhangaon and 6 north-east of Chhurhi; tradition ascribes it to an ancestor of a Gour Raja, named Dama Dhruva, usually called Dama Dhurwa Gour. The ancestors of the present Chhurhi chieftain were originally living in Ratanpur, in the service of the Ratanpur Rajas. It happened on a certain occasion that the palace of the Raja caught fire; the Raja, seeing it impossible to save the building, asked his assembled servants if they could save the treasure and the royal elephants; the ancestor of the Chhurhi Chief at once came forward and cutting open the doorway with his sword saved the treasure; the Raja praised his courage and presence of mind and promised him a grant of land.

Some short time previous to this occurrence, the Chief of Kosgain, Dama Dhurwa Gour, who was a noted robber and very brave, had refused to pay the customary tribute to his suzerain, the Raja of Ratanpur; the Raja accordingly gave this robber chief's appanage to the ancestor of the Chhurhi Chief in fulfilment of his promise of giving him a grant of land; the man went, saw the fort, and seeing it impregnable to force, determined to take it by stratagem; dressing himself as a simple soldier, he with his four brothers similarly dressed entered the fort on the plea of seeking employment, and was allowed to go to the kachari of the Raja. The Raja, a keen judge of men, at once saw the man was brave and strong, and not only offered him employment immediately, but behaved very kindly to him; the man, however, thinking that if he accepted the proffered service and "ate the salt" of Dama Dhurwa, he could not without unpardonable ingratitude turn against him subsequently and destroy him, began to make various demands which the Chief, however, granted, till at last seeing no end to the demands of the pretended soldier, he lost patience and drew his sword, then there ensued a great row in which Dama Dhurwa was killed; he now with his four brothers came out, and representing to Dama Dhurwa's army that it was useless for them to fight for a man who was no longer alive, induced some of them to enter his service, the rest then dispersed and he became Chief of Kosgain, which is still a possession of the Chhurhi Chiefs. The Chhurhi Chief soon

extended his sway, and it is said he carried his arms as far south as Pamgarh, which he took and destroyed; as Pamgarh was certainly flourishing about the twelfth century, the establishment of the present Chhatri Chiefs of Chhurhi in place of the aboriginal Gour Chief of Kosgain cannot date to a period prior to the thirteenth century, but may be much later.

The fort has two entrances, one the single duar, the other the barah duar; the ascent to the single duar is very steep indeed, the path being cut on the side of the hill, having the scarped rock to the right, and a massive revetment holding up the road to the left. It is evident that to get on to the road one must perforce get on to it at its commencement, except now in places where the revetment having given way access is practicable up its sloping debris toward the top of the ascent; it is only practicable for booted feet by notches cut at intervals in the rocky and slippery slope. The revetment was built of cut stone, but is now broken in many places. On the scarped wall on the right hand side of the ascent are several sculptured figures besides loose ones; one, a large statue of Hanuman, is now known as Bhim; a temple of cut stone was once built over and in front of it enshrining it, there being here space enough for it, but it is now gone. A number of the rock sculptures have been left unfinished. At the top of the slippery ascent are holes cut into the sides of the scarped rock (the ascent for the last few feet being actually cut through the rock, leaving vertical walls of rock on either side); these holes are said to have been meant for the sliding bolt of a doorway which once closed the entrance, but which are now gone: the ascent is under command of the works above for its entire distance, rendering it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for an enemy to go up it without first denuding the ramparts above of defenders. Above the passage beyond the entrance are a few caves of neither interest nor importance, also some nondescript Brahmanical sculptures. The cut-stone walls of the fort go round the projecting of the hill, and it is up this spur that the ascent is carried; the spur is flat-topped, and the space between the toe of the steep slope of the main hill, where it rises above the spur, and the steep scarped and walled edge of the spur itself, is very convenient as a residence, being abundantly supplied with water. The edges of the spur are absolutely vertical, except in a few spots, which have been strongly fortified by massive cut-stone walls, and the plateau on the summit of the spur is accessible only by the two entrances mentioned,

of which one has been already described; the walls are of cut-stone, and however strong they may have been before the use of cannon, could be now easily breached.

There is one tower in the circuit of the walls, and this solitary tower has been pierced for cannon, but the engineers evidently did not understand their business, as the embrasures do not splay outwards, nor does the tower command anything. From an examination of the doorway or entrance to this tower it is clear that the tower and its entrance are Muhammadan; the latter is faced by a slab of stone with a pointed arch cut through it, and is adorned with poor and shallow carving.

A spring issues near the foot of the steep slope of the main hill, where it rises above the plateau of the spur; near this spring is a stone, partially hollowed on one side, and resting on a raised knob on the natural rocky platform. What particular purpose it could have served I am at a loss to conjecture; of course it turns round and round when pushed. The spring, or rather waterfall, is named the "Látá páthar."

The hill is sacred to Kosgain Mátá, a local divinity corresponding to the various other presiding divinities of the numerous remarkable hills in this wild country, for every isolated peak has its own special tutelary divinity worshipped by the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood. Kosgain Mátá, however, enjoys a rather extensive share of fame and popularity, and I have no doubt she was the chief object of worship in the old days of the aboriginal robber chief and his ancestors; her shrine is situated on the very summit of the smaller but sharply-pointed peak, which rises up close beside the higher but rounder main summit of the great hill. This particular peak, though without a trace of a wall now, is known as Kosgain garh, from which I infer that at some former period of its history it served as a citadel to the fort below; the figure itself is neither more nor less than Parvati herself, four-armed, and holding the usual Saivic symbols.

Descending now to the Látá páthar and going towards the Báráh gate are the remains of several buildings and temples; on the roadside of the latter a small one still stands partially ruined, and three rude statues outside it are known as the "Bahas;" there are also a figure of Parvati seated on Nandi, and several others of the Brahmanical Saivic class. The cut-stone walls follow the shape of the crest of the spur and finally descend and terminate at the Báráh gate.

The Báráh gate is built of cut stone in the usual style of double Hindu gateways, with cloisters at the sides of the passage. In these, which are now however broken, are numerous sculptures, some coarse in execution, similar to others above, and evidently belonging to a degenerate age; others of a very superior order, which I am of opinion have been brought from elsewhere, perhaps from some temple within the fort, though, from the non-existence of any ruins in the fort which have any pretensions to beauty, I rather think they have been brought from a distance: the sculptures are not only incomplete in themselves, but are so let into the walls as to demonstrate that they never were intended for the places they now occupy.

The sculptures are of great interest, not only from the beauty of execution and freedom of design, but from their representing scenes which I am unable to recognise. One represents a man and a woman seated on either side of what I take to be a pot of fire; the man is holding the woman by her fingers; in the background are a number of figures who have joined hands and formed a circle and are going round some object; I suspect it represents a wedding, but what or whose wedding? Another represents an eight-armed female, doing something which is not quite clear, but the piece is mutilated. One interesting sculpture represents a woman seated, and another holding her outstretched hand; she is seated in a *chair;* another woman, wearing a hoop or basket suspended from her waist, like the crinolines lately in fashion with ladies of the present decade, is doing something I cannot quite make out.

A Nandi with highly ornamented hump, and with his head turned looking backwards, is well executed and forms one of the pieces of this interesting collection of sculptures, which among others includes one of an old bearded man with his hands raised as in the act of bestowing benediction.

Only one of the sculptures is inscribed; it represents a row or procession of four figures (but it is a fragment), all nicely dressed in *dhotis* with rich stiff and, as I understand it to mean, brocaded borders: one holds a bow, one a club, one an arrow, the fourth has had the portion broken off which represented what he held; it is inscribed in two places, one under the first figure is पेंसन देव *Ponsana Deva,* the other is -हन् देव * * hena Deva. I suspect, therefore, that they represent some local divinities. It is unfortunate that this is all there is of this interesting slab, and it might, if complete,

have given us a list more or less complete of the local and perhaps aboriginal divinities which were objects of worship, at least as early as the ninth century, to which period at latest I would, from the superior style of the sculptures, ascribe them.

Remembering the specimen of temple at Janjgir, which has its walls adorned with scenes from the Râmayana (Vol. VII, p. 205), and the group of finely executed sculptures at Ratanpur, which bear a close resemblance to the group here, I cannot help suspecting that these fragments all belong to one or more temples of the Janjgir type, which has now been destroyed; a very strong presumption in favour of my view, that these sculptures were brought from a distance, is the discovery of an inscribed slab here, which has since been carried away to Bilaspur (see Vol. VII, p. 213), which was inscribed on *both* sides: as it is evident the slab could not have been originally inscribed on one side only, the occurrence of an inscription on the opposite side points to its removal and subsequent re-employment, the original inscription being in the second case turned inwards. It remains to find out where the temple stood, of which the interesting sculptures here formed a part: a great deal depends on the discovery of this spot, for I believe that there, or near it, will be found the ancient capital of the country. I myself do not believe the fragments were brought from Ratanpur, because, however low the Ratanpur Rajas may have fallen (supposing even that Ratanpur possessed such temples at any period of her history, a supposition I am by no means prepared to support, (*vide* Report, Vol. VII, p. 214), they never fell so low as to permit the petty Chief of Kosgain to plunder their very capital of its art treasures. I suspect rather that both Kosgain and Ratanpur obtained their sculptures from a common mine, which *may* be Pali, but which I would be more inclined to look for near Mastury, a place which I suspect to be identical with the "Manikpur Masituli," mentioned in a lately discovered fragment of inscription (see *ante*) as the seat of the Kulachuris. It is true I have had the place twice examined by my servants, illness and circumstances beyond my control preventing a personal examination; but I never will feel convinced that it is not the seat of the Kulachuris, and not of the Kulachuris alone, but that it is not the identical Manikpur *alias* Ratanpur, mentioned in the Mahabharat, until the place has been thoroughly overhauled by some one competent to make the necessary antiquarian research.

I here close this report. Some other places were visited during the two years comprised within this report, but being few in number and in districts which are far away from the places where the chief work of the two seasons lay, I have thought it better not to break the sort of unity of the subject of this report by introducing accounts of places which will more appropriately form part of a subsequent paper on another portion of India.

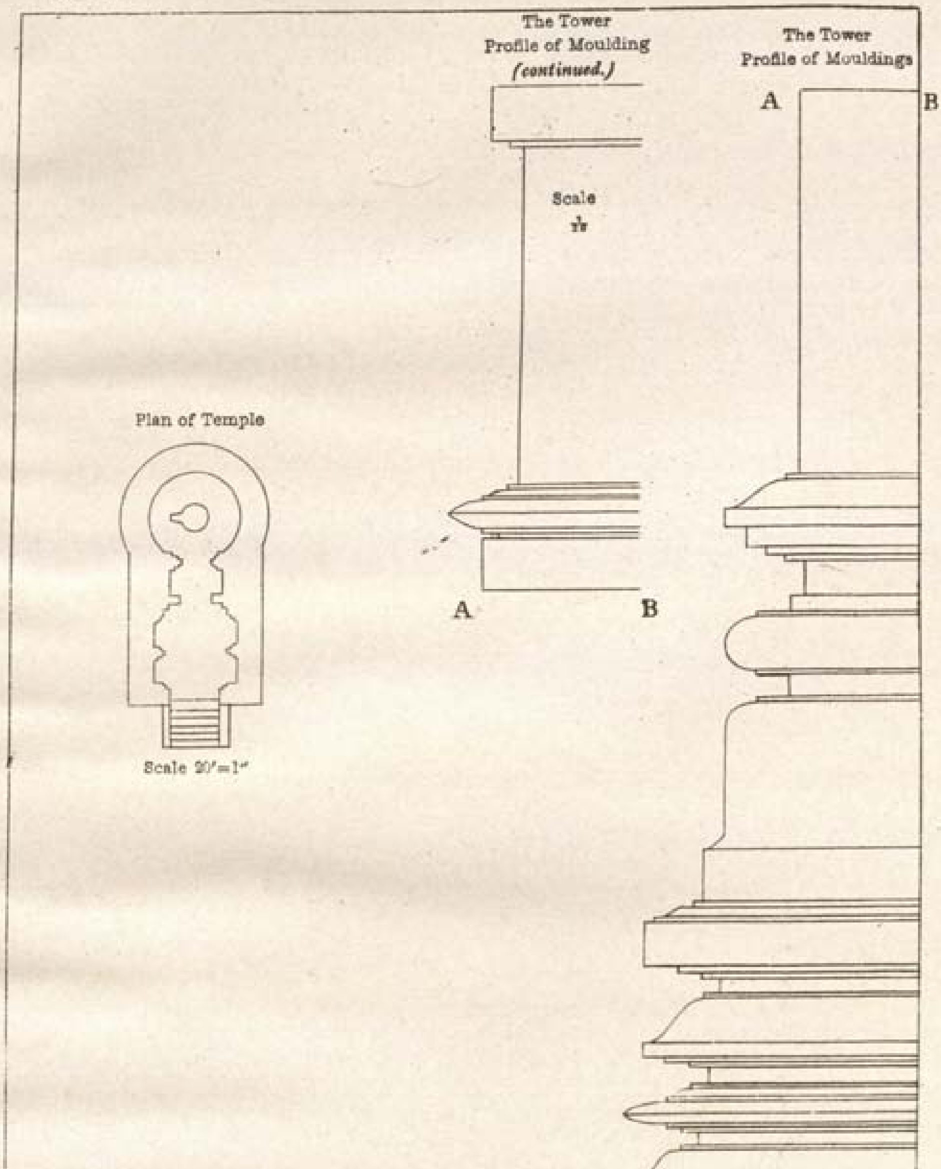
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G. I. C. P. O.— No. 55 H. R. & A.—1-5-81—550.



J. D. Beglar, Photo

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J. D. Beglar, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta January 1881.

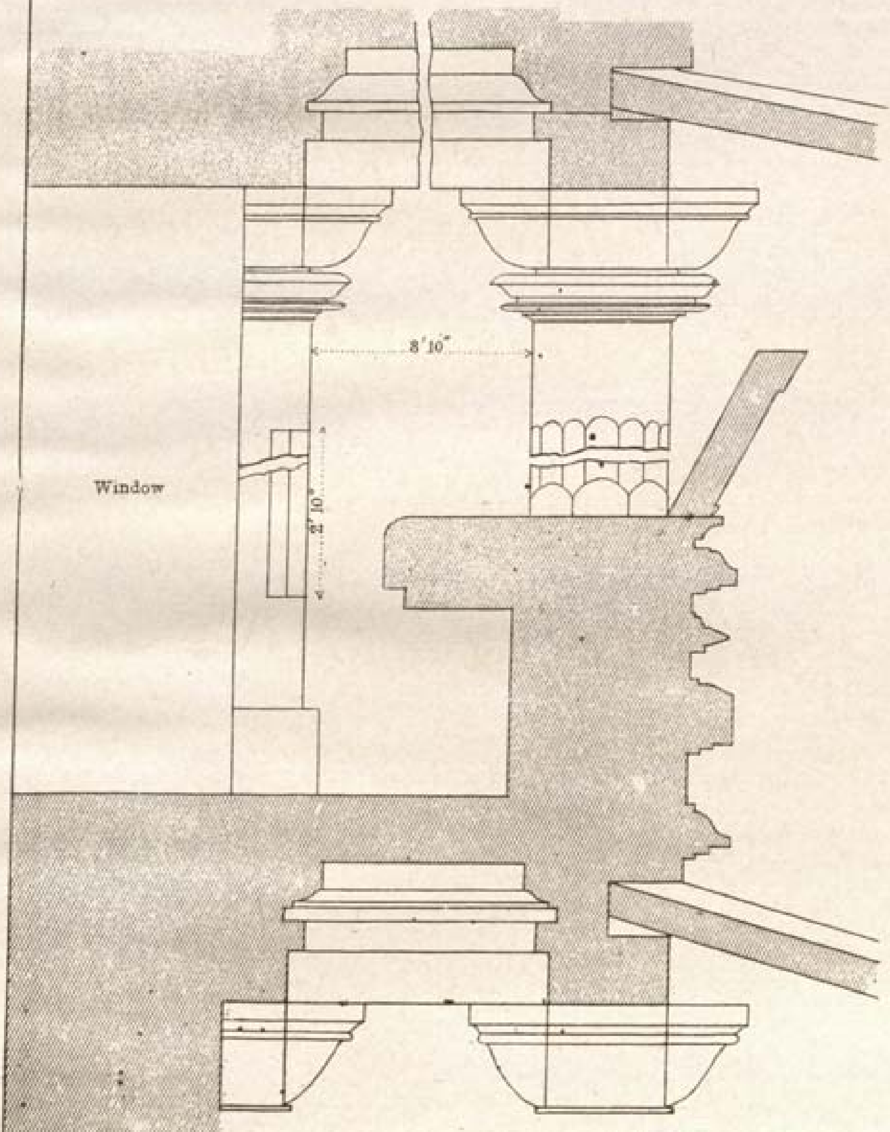
Section of Upper Storey of the Palace

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$

THE PALACE

Section of Colonnade round inner Courtyard

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$

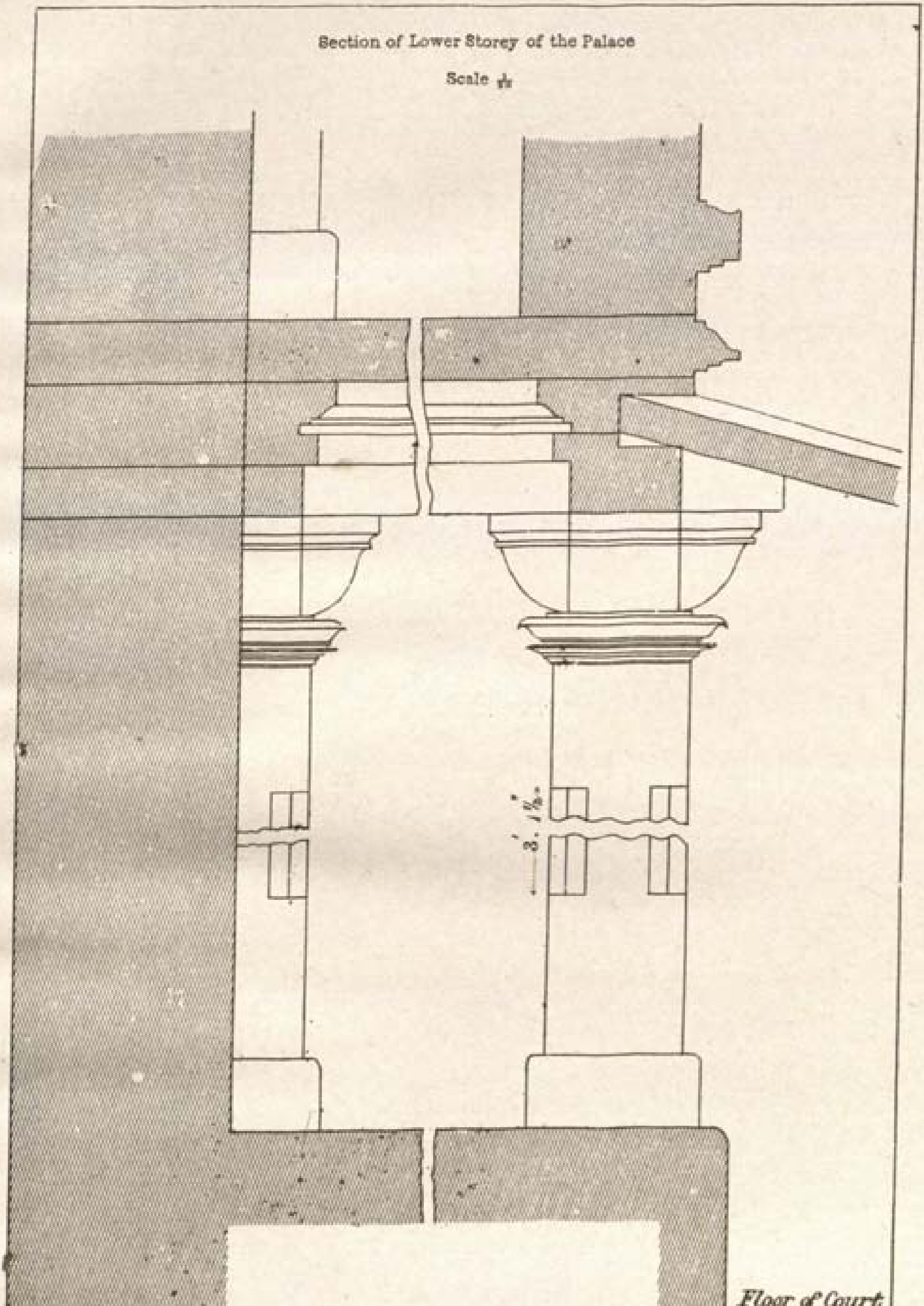


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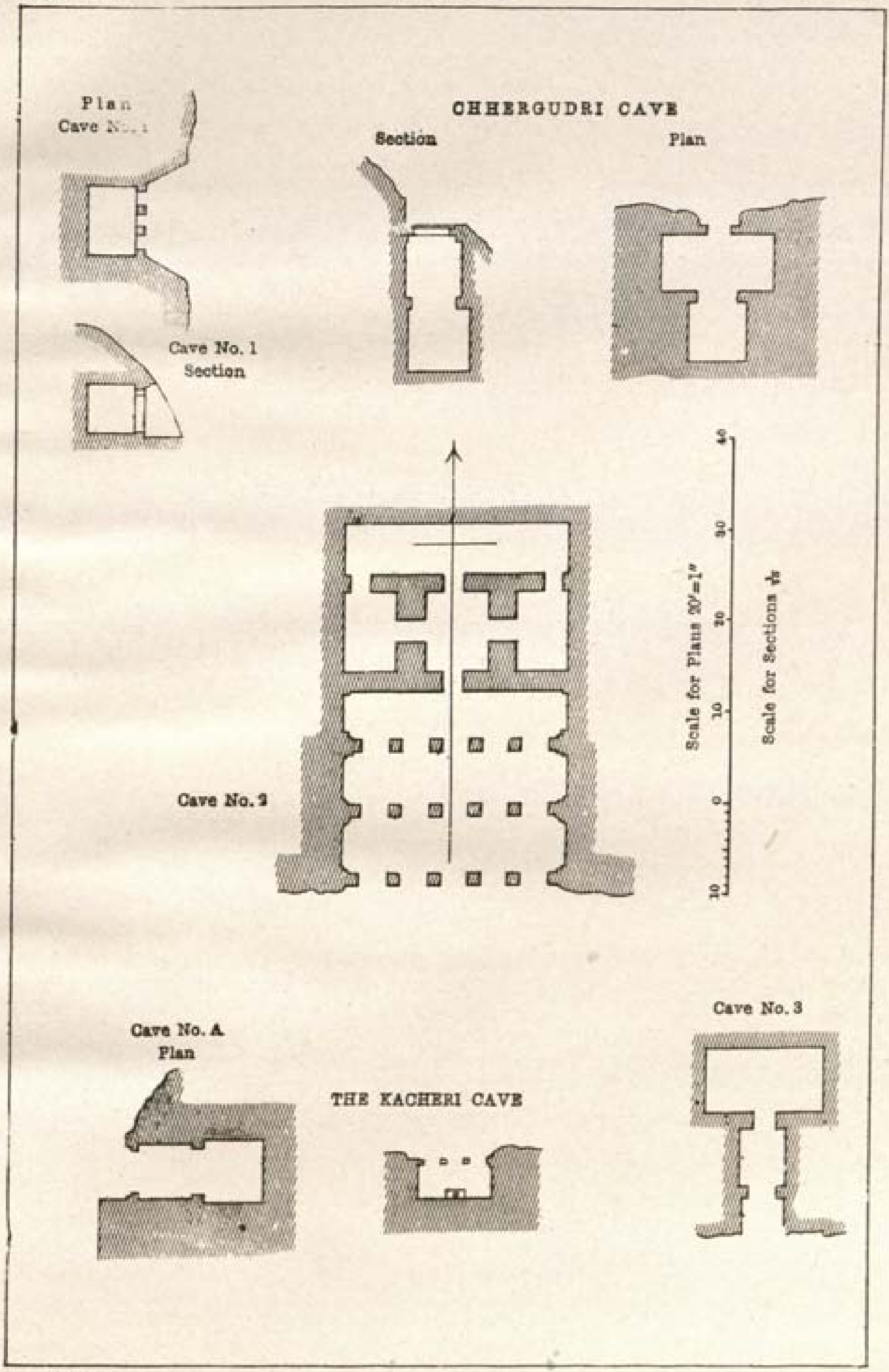
Section of Lower Storey of the Palace

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$



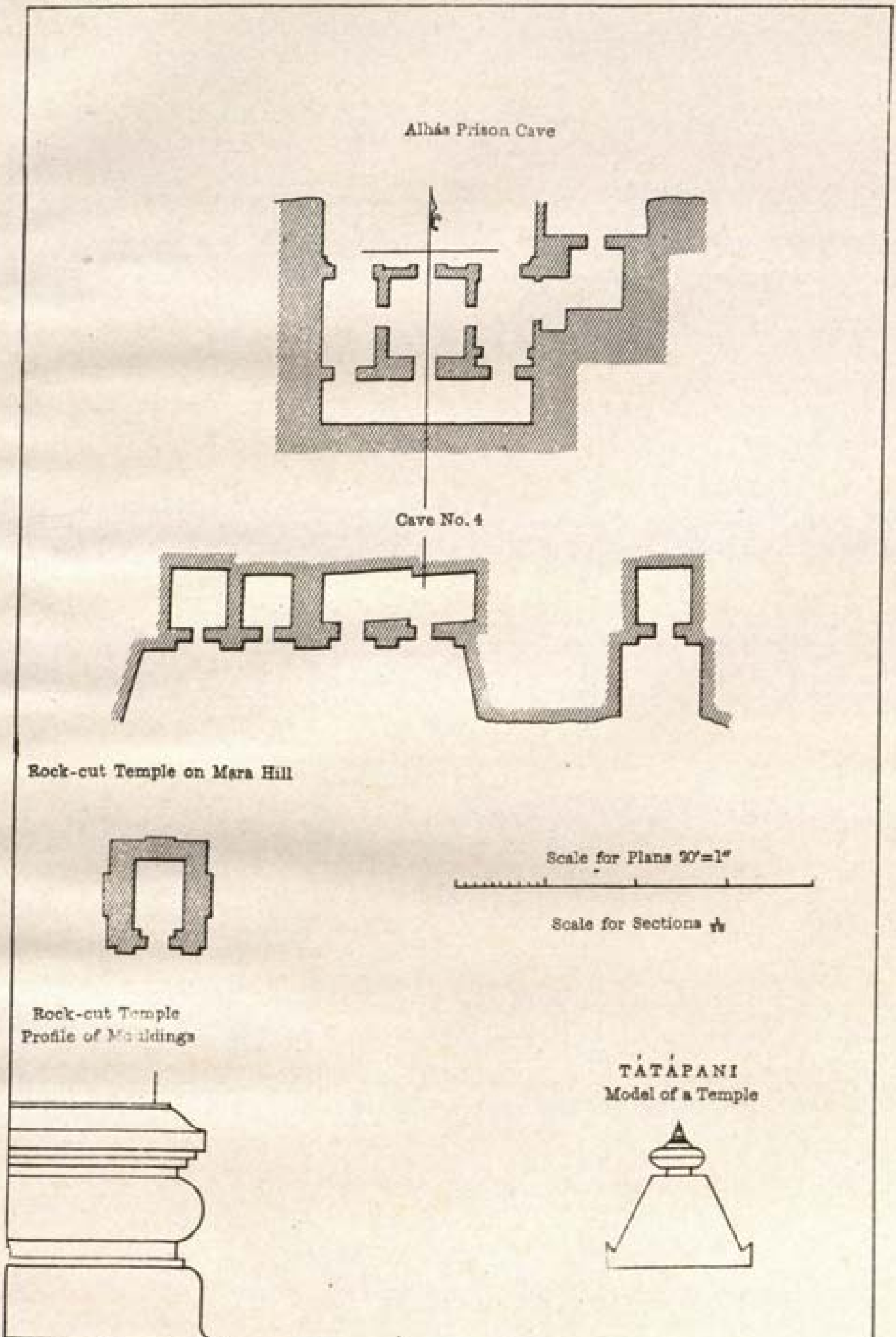
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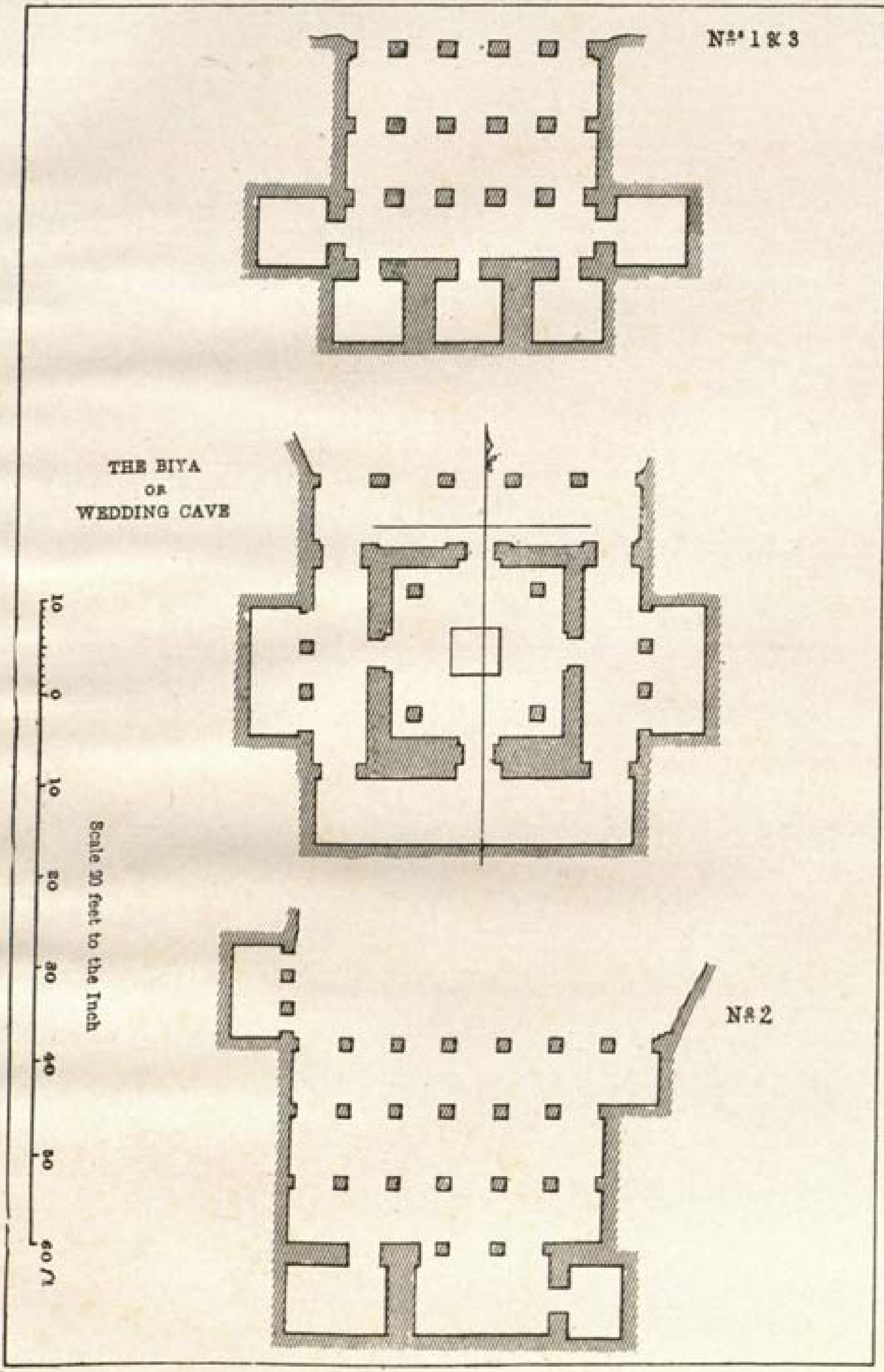
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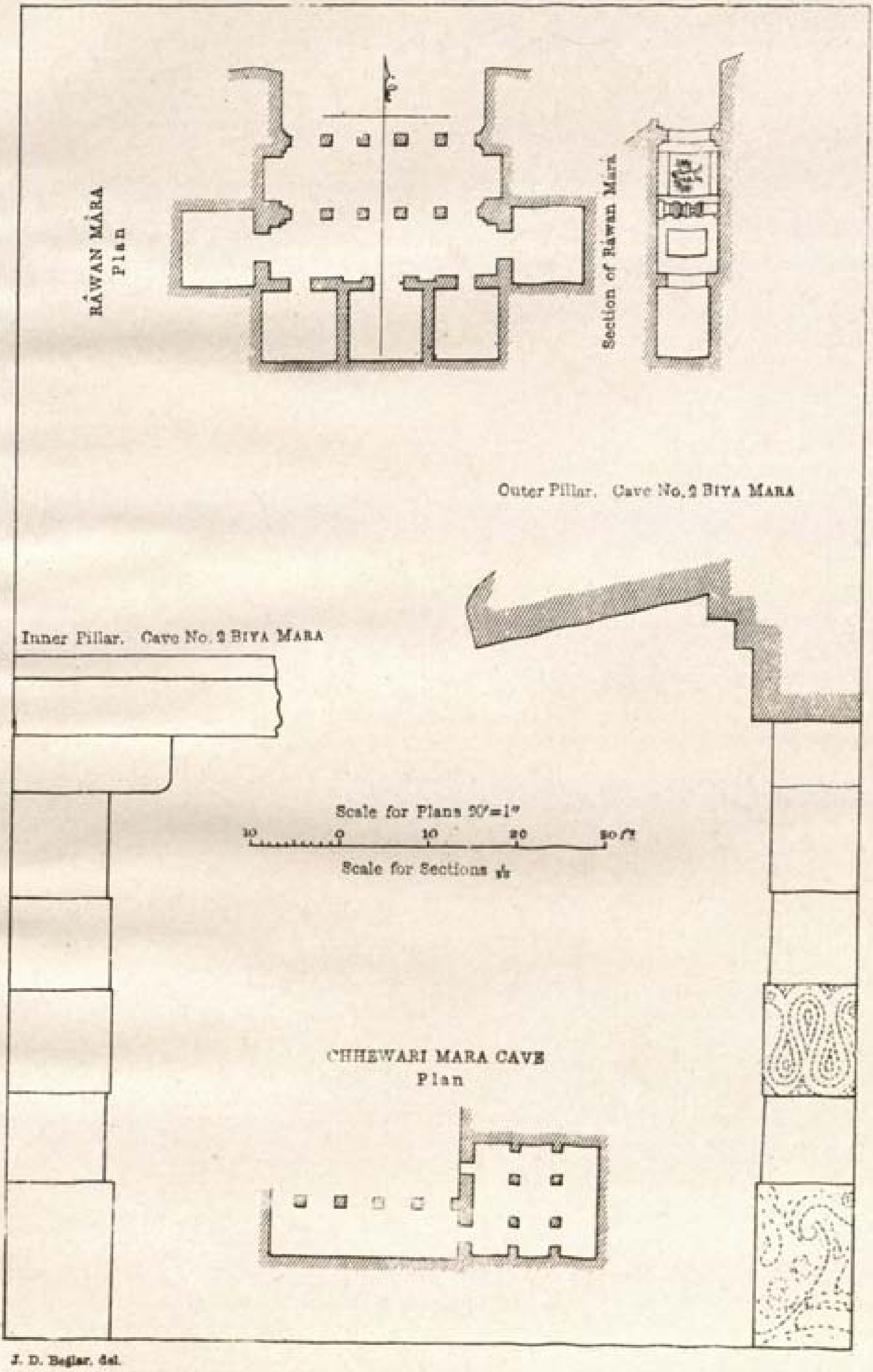
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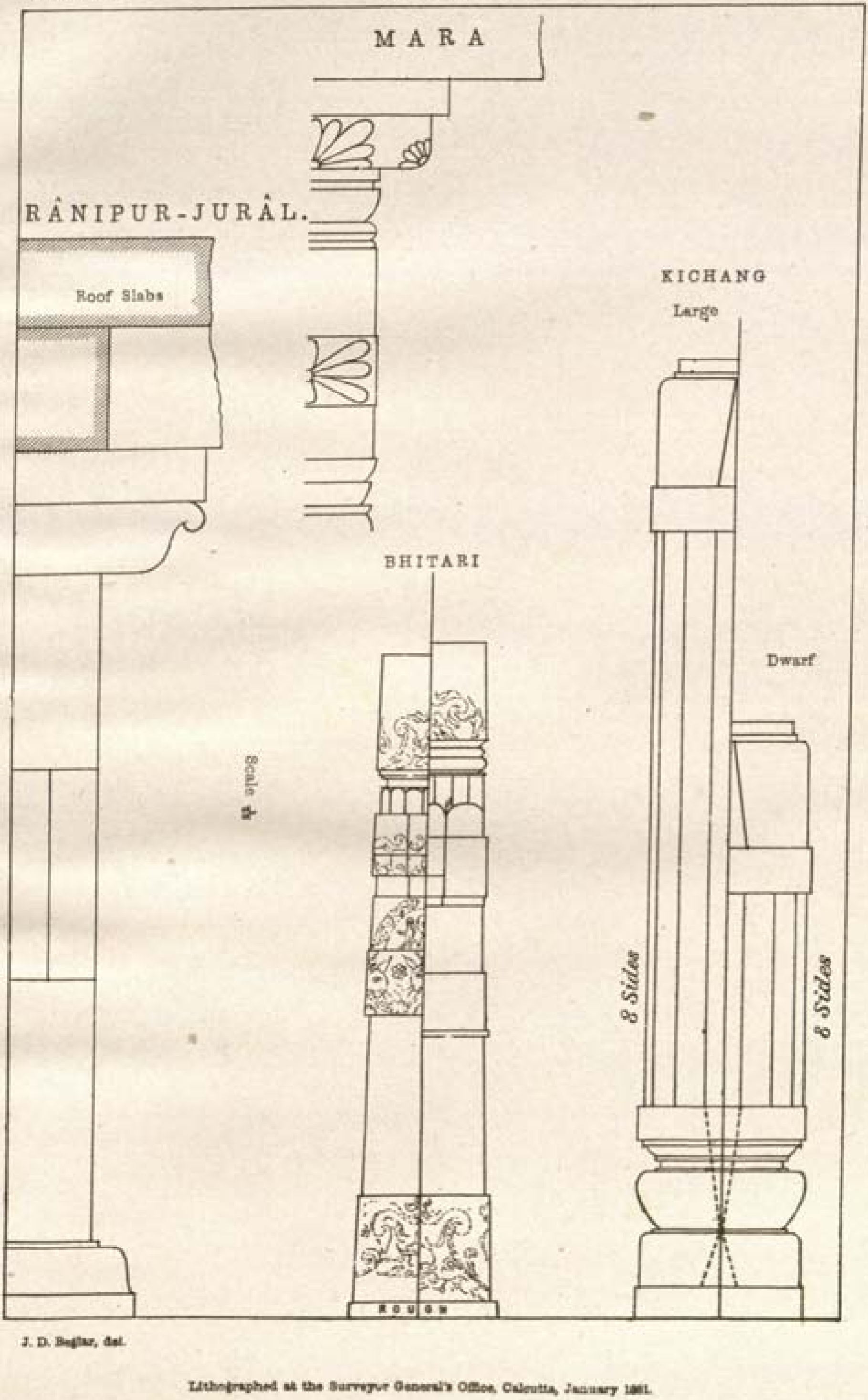
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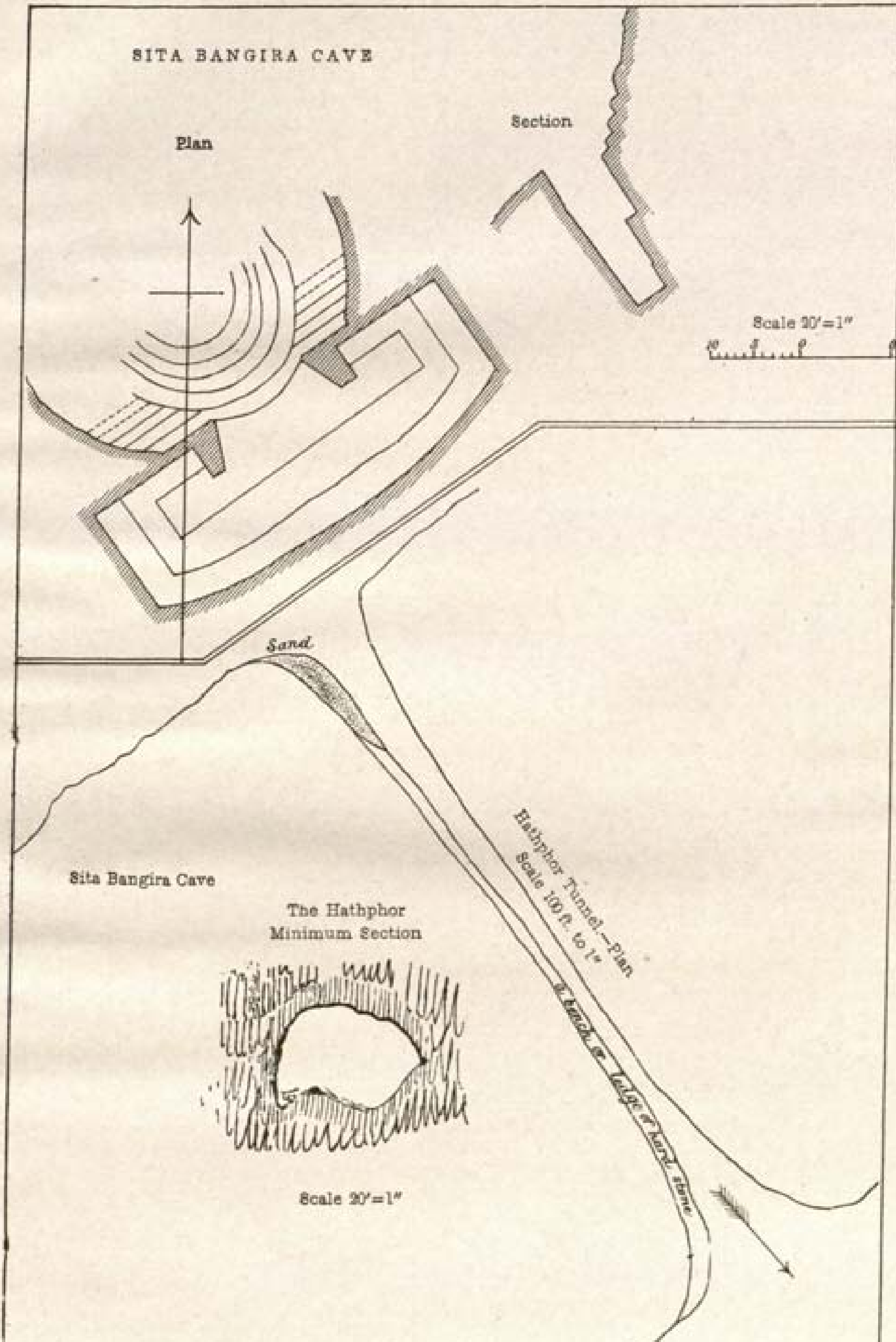
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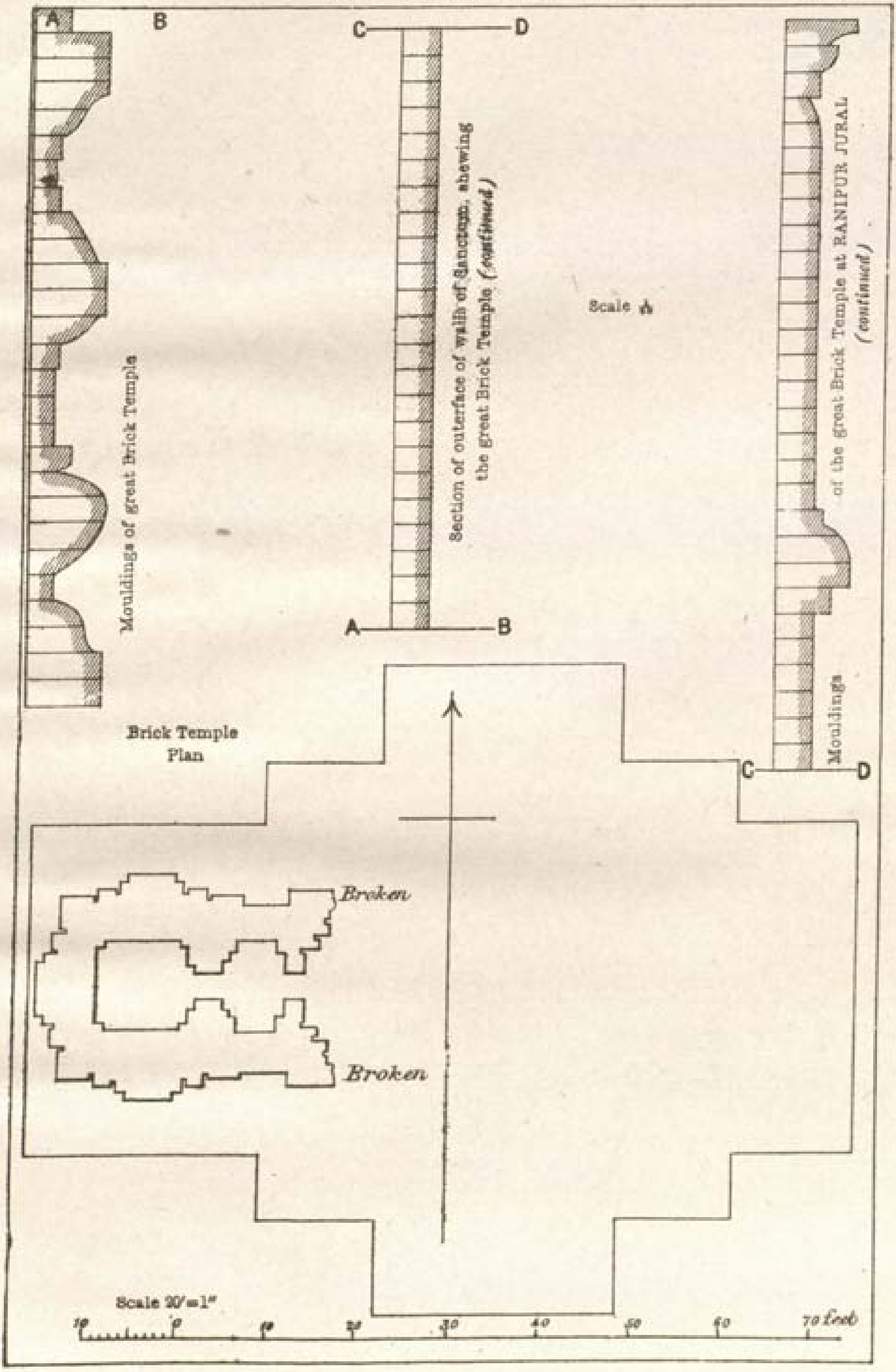
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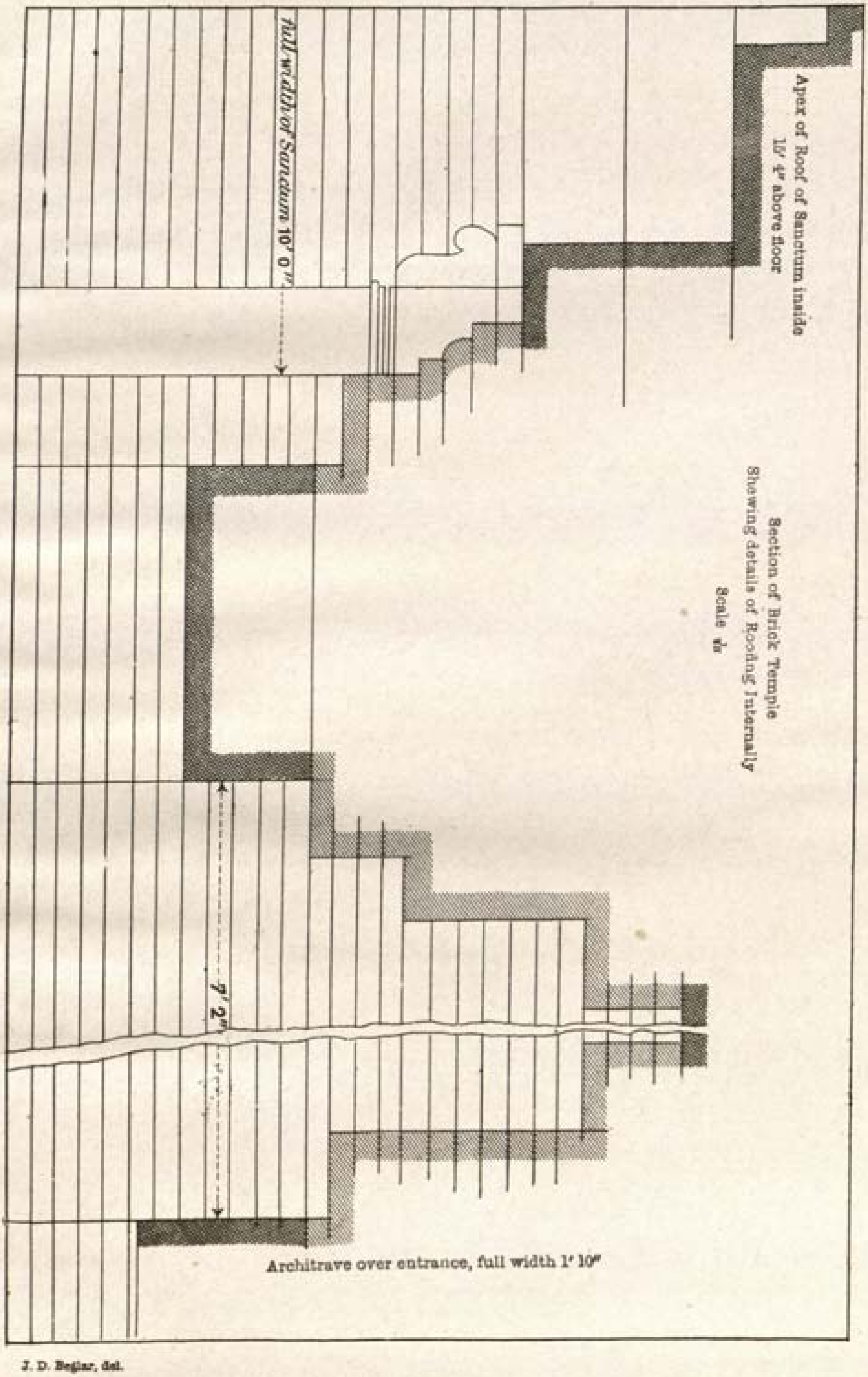
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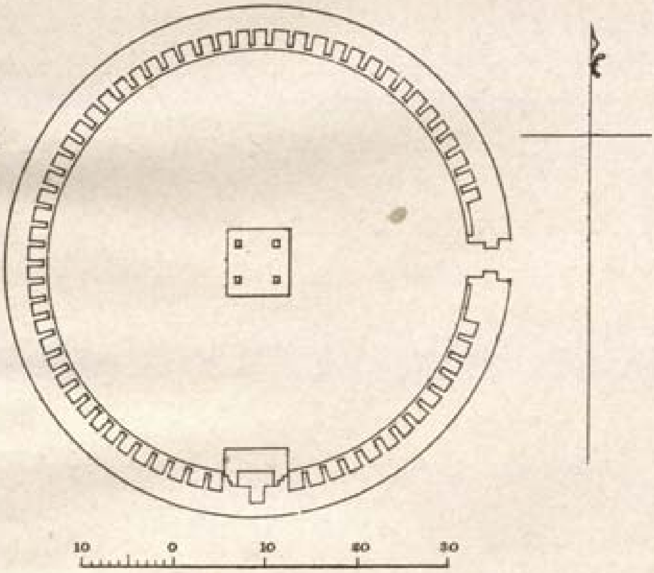
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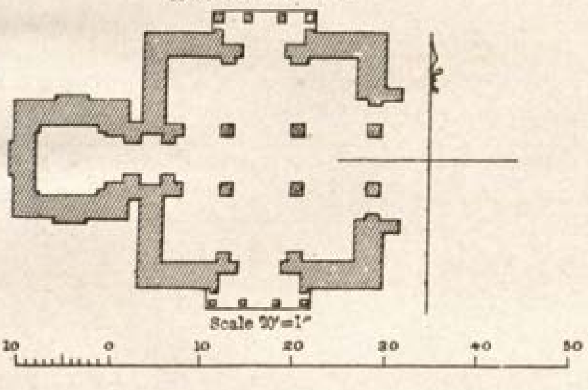
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Circular Open Temple

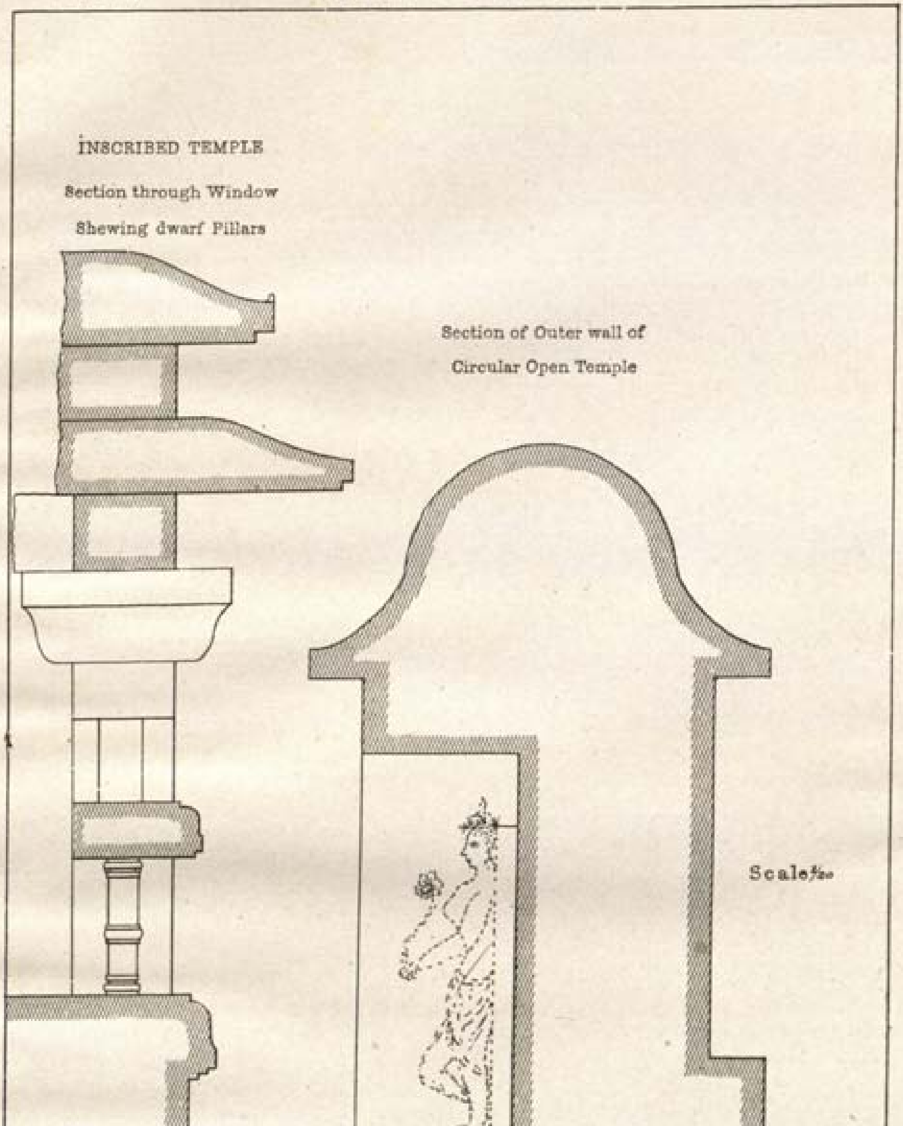


INSCRIBED TEMPLE



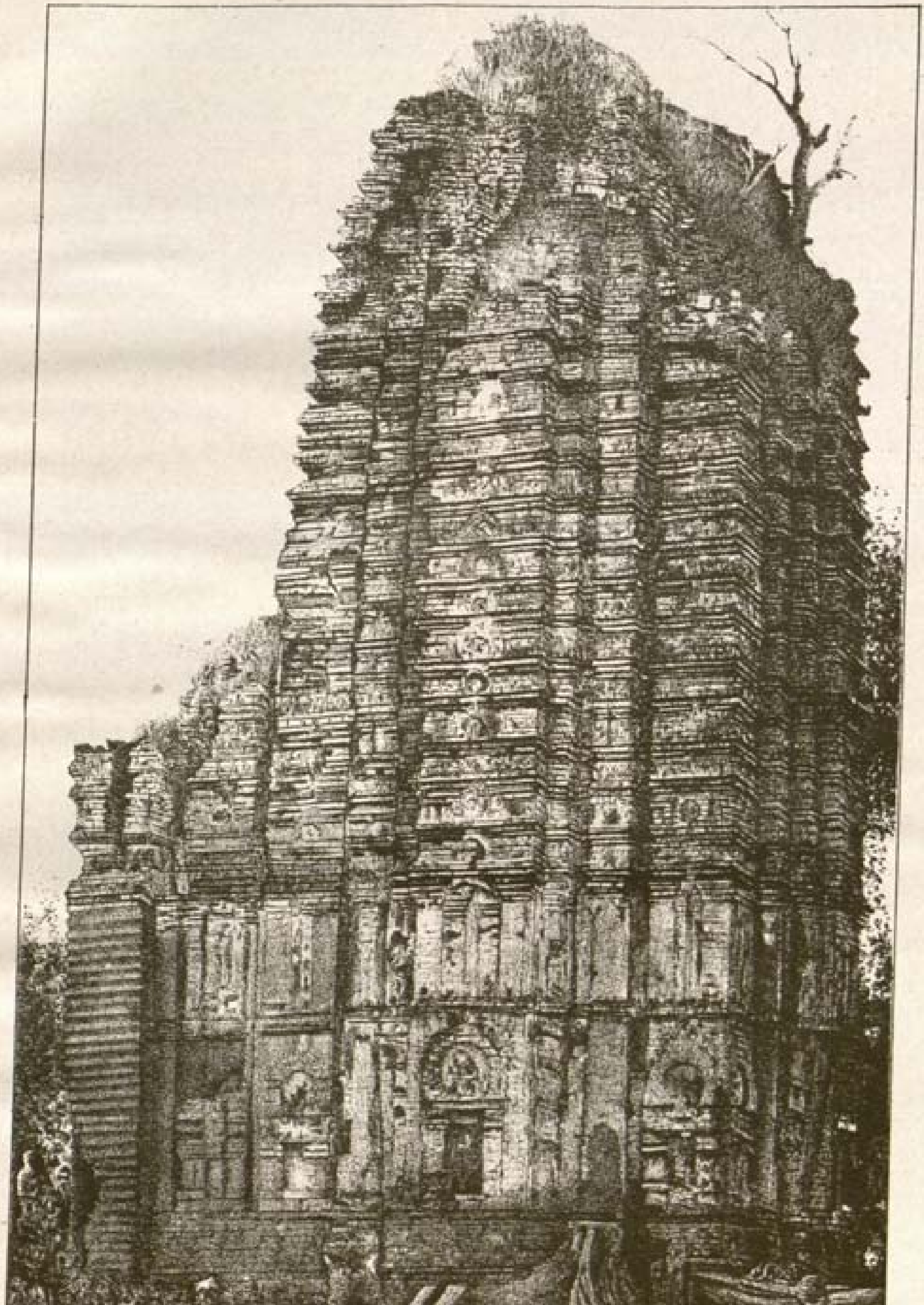
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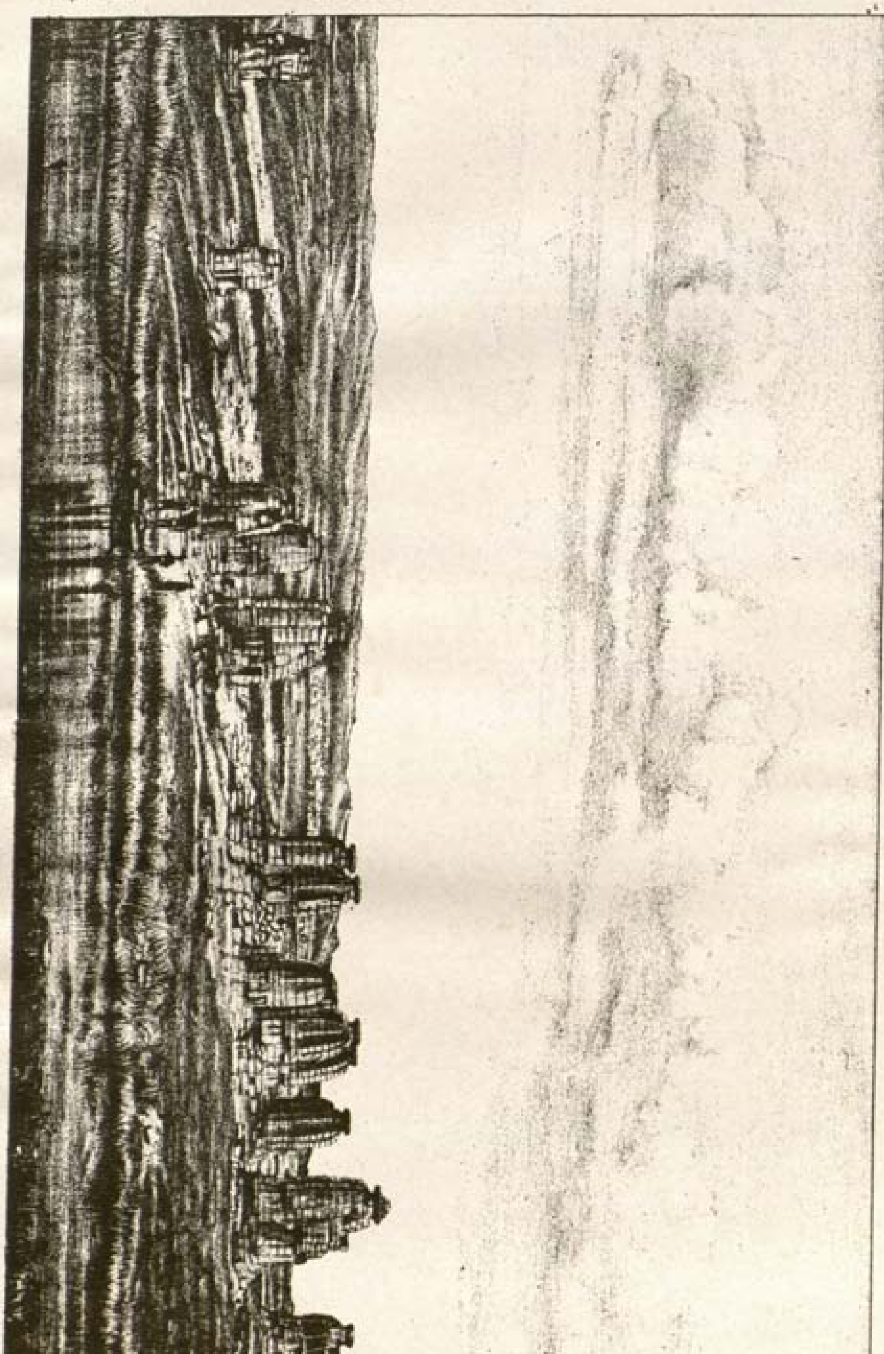
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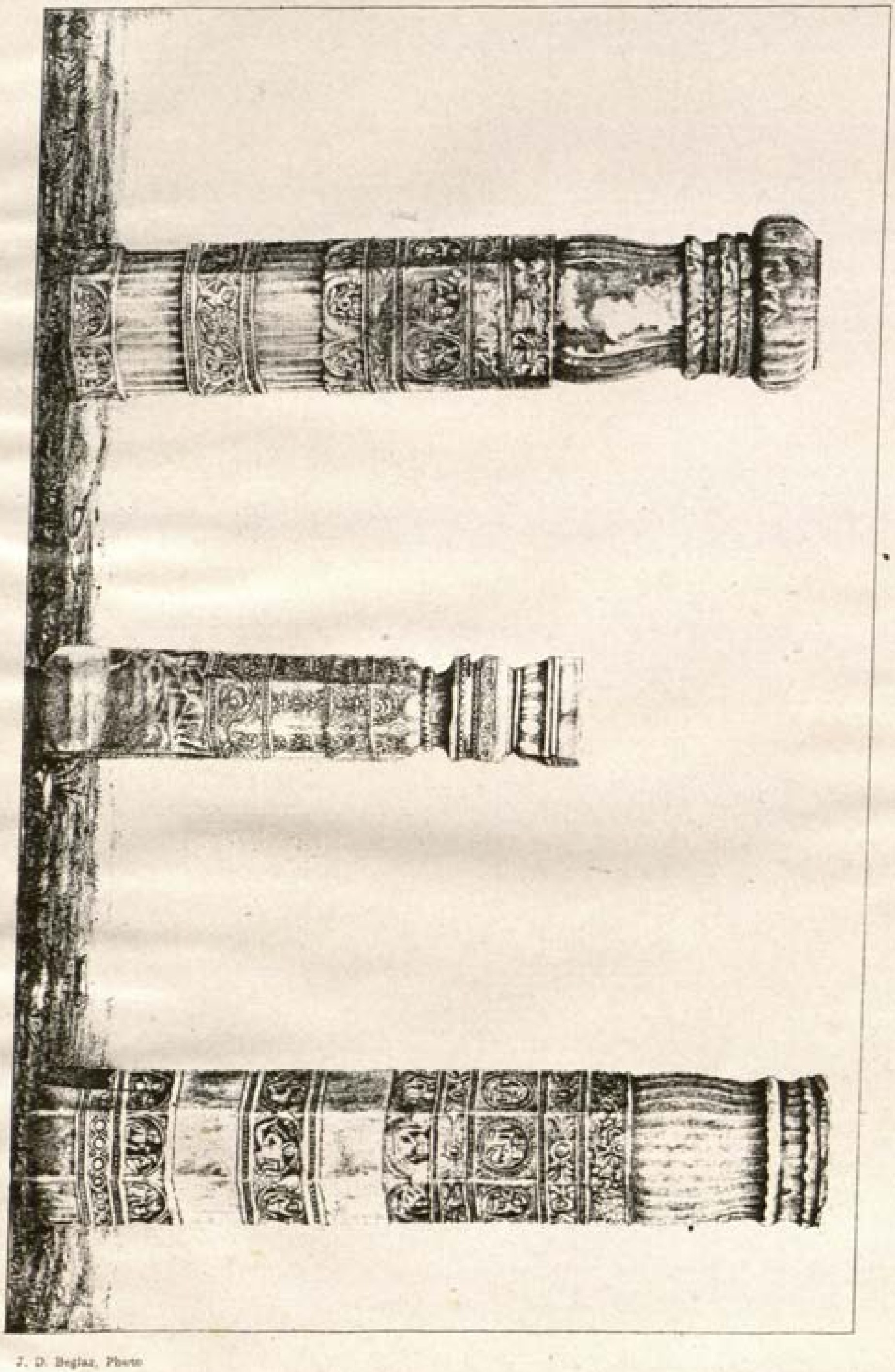
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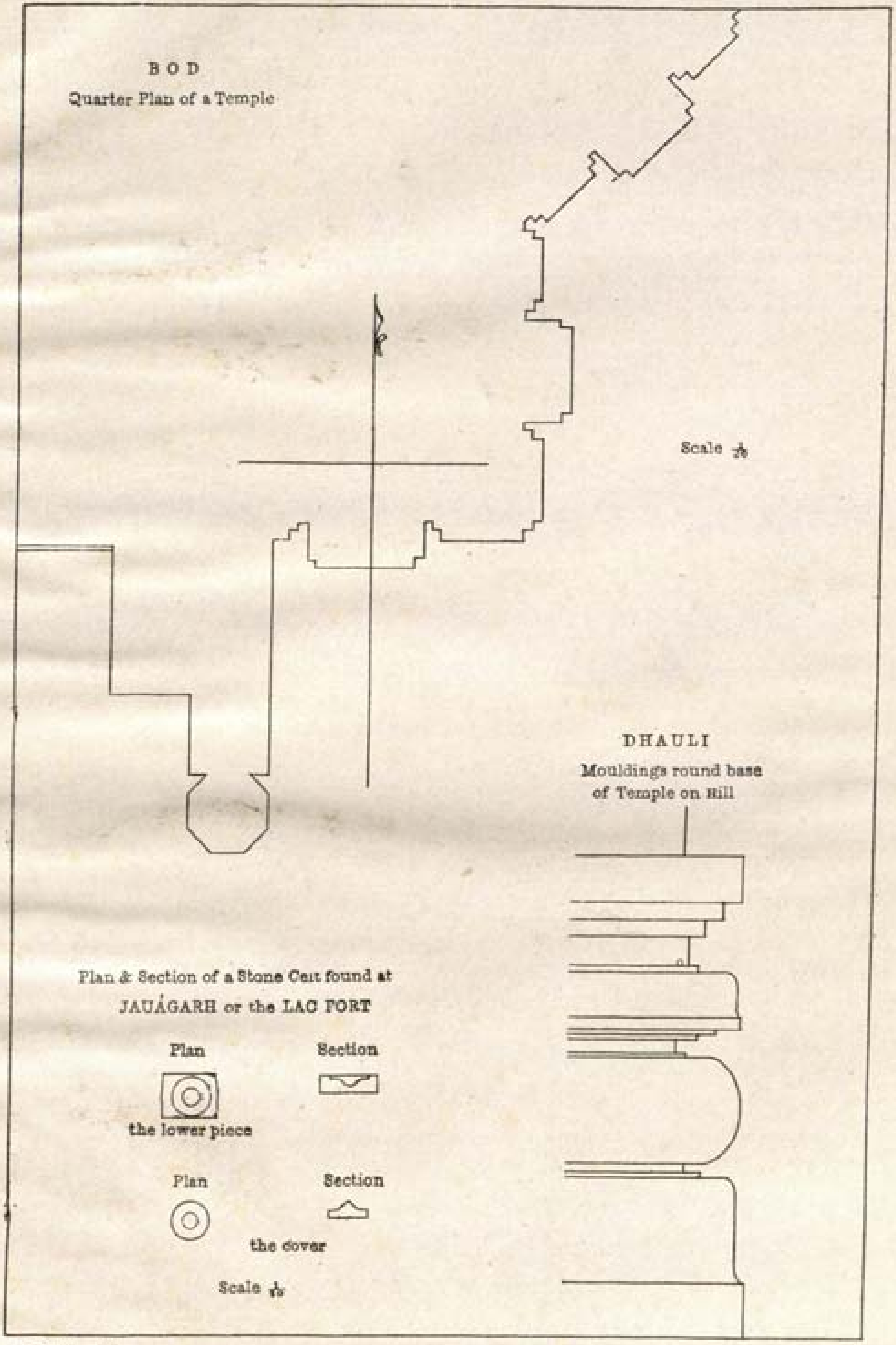
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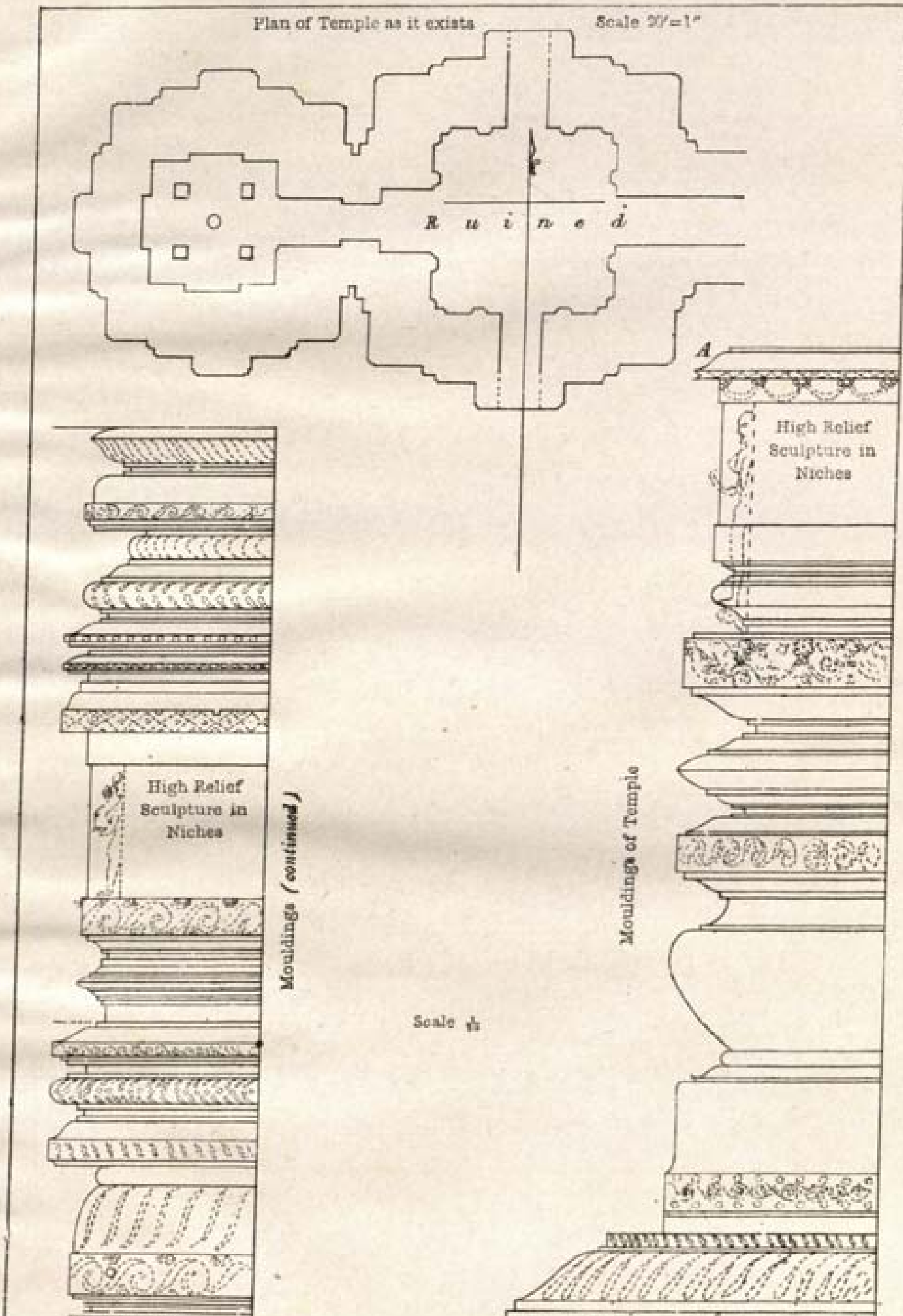
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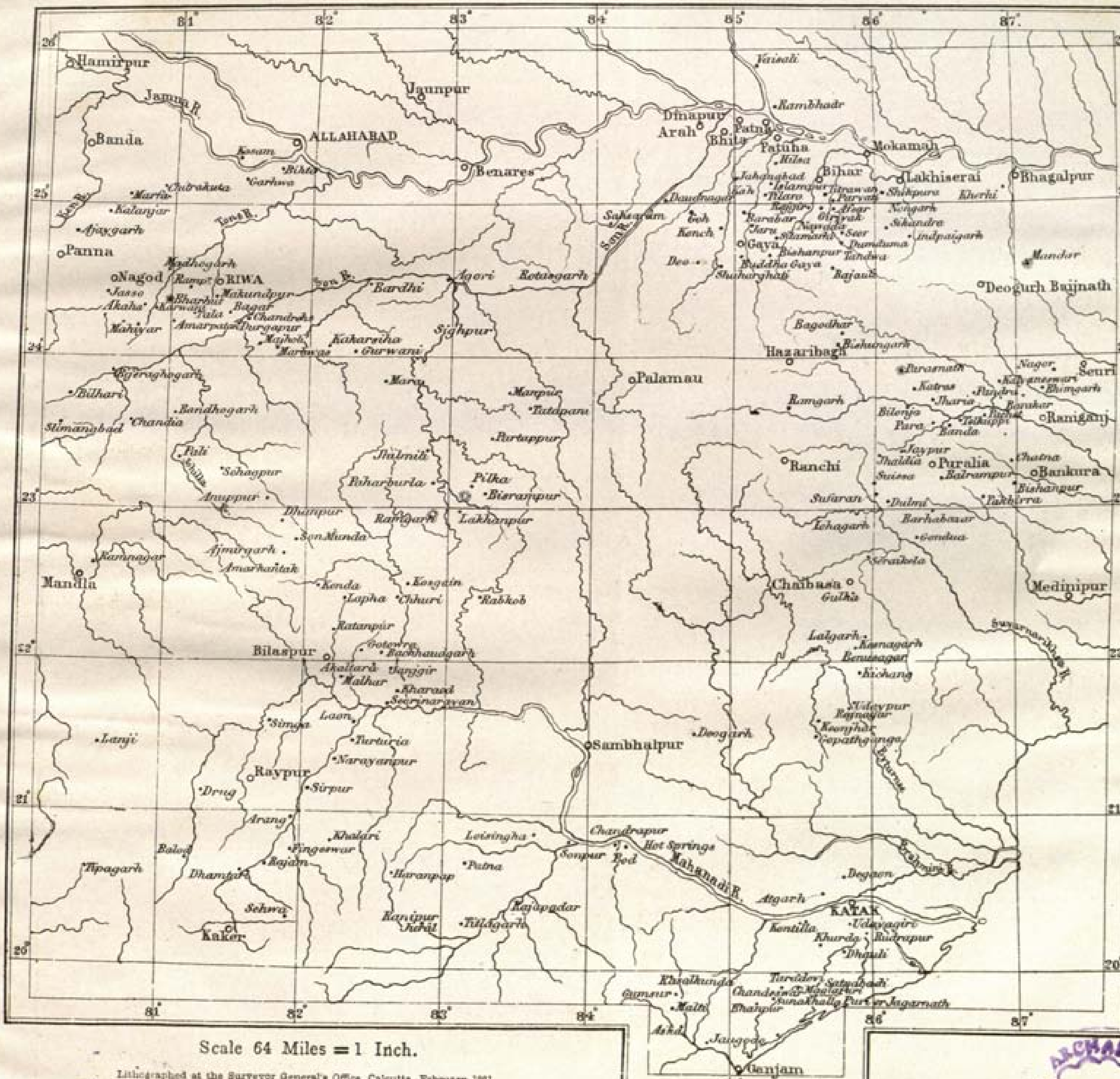
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J. D. Beglar, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta: January 1881.



Scale 64 Miles = 1 Inch.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, February 1881.

